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CORRESPONDENCE

Illicit intercommunion

Chatham, N.J.

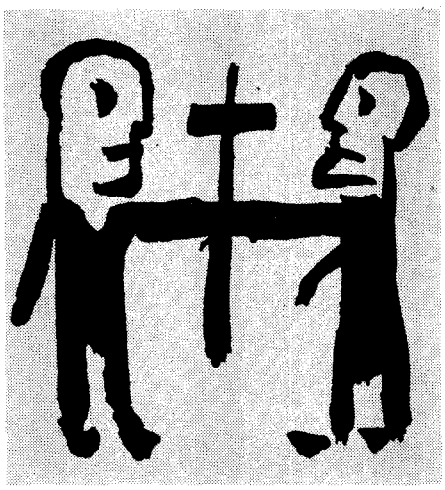
To the Editors: When I finished Rev. Richard Mazziotta's article ["How I Declined the Invitation," January 29] about his declining to share Holy Communion in a Lutheran church, I hoped that he would write again some time, after he has invited his Lutheran colleague to preach, but not share in the Eucharist, in his Roman Catholic parish. I would be interested to read him "supposing himself" to be "the man who was determined to have a great banquet" composed only of those who can offer "complete creedal consent."

Mazziotta's article also set me to wondering (again) why the Roman Catholic eucharistic liturgy contains no hint of the requirement for complete creedal consent. I understand someone who receives Roman Catholic communion to be affirming not only the Nicene Creed and the belief in the real presence, but also such dogmatic teachings (affirmed by the Second Vatican Council) as the direct divine institution of the papacy and the non-existence of any right of conscience for Roman Catholic communicants.

I therefore abstain from communion when I worship with Roman Catholic friends. Many of them, however, dismiss my understanding of complete creedal consent as cranky. Some propose such remarkably deconstructive readings of Roman Catholic teaching that the sacrament truly could mean whatever they choose it to mean, in the tradition of Humpty Dumpty. Others consider it their Christian duty to violate official teaching, especially when that teaching is the subject of some dissent; their arguments are curiously reminiscent of Oliver North's defense of his part in arranging supplies to the Nicaraguan resistance.

The Roman Catholic church obviously considers its ban on intercommunion important; illicit intercommunion was one of the charges against Archbishop Hunthausen, and the bishops periodically ask that the ban on intercommunion be stated, if not carefully explained, in Sunday bulletins. Perhaps there would be fewer instances of illicit intercommunion if the eucharistic liturgy made it clearer to worshipers what they affirm implicitly when they share communion.

CHRISTOPHER J. VAN WYK



We are not reconciled

New Lexington, Ohio

To the Editors: The struggle to experience unity and peace in the midst of plurality is well expressed in Father Mazziotta's account of a declined invitation on Reformation Sunday. The "afterlife" of the experience is also well articulated and seems to have brought him to a mixture of remorse and heightened awareness of the sadness of Christian division. It is not unusual in such an experience to seek answers in the benevolence of the human heart and, perchance, in Scripture alone.

If, however, it is any consolation for him, his decision to decline has deep roots in Scripture and the human heart. If it did not, the struggle would be over and we could all relax together on a grassy hillside and be communally fed with the bread of life. Such a scenario is not possible because there exists the haunting reality that fellowship and mystery are not yet truly one. Despite the Lutheran-Catholic Dialogue, we are not really sure that Luther's "Gottesfleisch" is the body and blood of the ancient sacrament. Among all Christians, there is not yet a faith resolution as to whether the body and blood of the Lord is the creator of unity, the sign of unity, or both. Can we, because of the longing of the human heart, proclaim real that which does not yet existentially exist? What of the faith struggles of the centuries? Berengar's subjective faith, Abelard's conceptual presence, the intersubjective ontological presence of recent years? Do they not have a relevance to the faith consciousness of a people? Revise and probe the limits of the past, as we may, they are real until we, as a people, have transcended them. I would suggest that we have not transcended our multiple limitations concerning the acceptance of the eucharistic Jesus.

Father Mazziotta need not apologize for his excuse. Many of us have shared his experience and empathize with him. What he might now share with his students is the story of how our own sinfulness shattered the Christian community, how our own pride and narrowness keeps us unreconciled. He might also suggest that his "excuse" had simply been a truthful witness to the reality of who we all are as Christians today. If that witness reveals a heavy burden, then perhaps tomorrow could be different, freer, more

(Continued on page 287)

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COMMONWEAL

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Home equity

In a nation that has nearly one bedroom per member of the population, where 24 percent of homeowners live in homes owned free and clear—paying as little as 12 percent of their income for shelter—why speak of a "housing crisis"? Because it's there. Anyone in search of evidence has but to look.

One place to look is on the streets and in other public spaces, where increasing numbers of homeless people are visible, begging for handouts, plowing through garbage cans, sleeping on grates in train and bus stations, on church steps, their belongings in bundles beside them. Many of these people are sick. Most of them are often hungry. Some are mentally ill; some are addicted to drugs or alcohol or both. For all of them, life on the street has compounded whatever problems they may have.

Most of the people on the streets are alone. To see homeless families, one could visit any of the notorious welfare hotels, where public funds are squandered for pricey squalor, where mothers, children, and sometimes fathers are crowded into tiny, dingy rooms with bad plumbing and no cooking facilities, in districts particularly dangerous for children. For taxpayers, the out-of-pocket cost is already high, but we may not learn the true cost of inadequate housing until these ill-housed children reach adulthood.

These are the most scandalous signs of crisis. But there are others. One only needs to look at the prices quoted in the classified ads offering homes for sale or rent. All of us know (or are ourselves) young families paying too much rent for too little space, desperate for more adequate housing, but unable to afford better. A shortage of affordable rentals and homes for middle-income families has tightened the supply of shelter that formerly passed from one income group to the one just below; that has stopped up the "trickle down." This in turn has led to increased demand for upgraded units—and to still higher rents. Overall, rents since 1980 have risen 14 percent higher than the inflation rate.

Meanwhile, the door to ownership—the traditional dream—is closing. In the 1980s, for the first time since the end of World War II, national homeownership fell. Robert Kuttner has described the gap between those who bought homes before the great housing inflation of the seventies and those who bought after: "The first group enjoys low-interest mortgages, effortless equity buildup, and cheap housing costs. The latter entrants have staggering monthly payments, if they can afford a house at all" (*New Republic*, May 11, 1987).

"The State of the Nation's Housing," a report released in March by the Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies, underlines Kuttner's point: two million households that would have been able to afford homes in 1980 cannot do so today. Why? Down payments are a major hurdle for many, including even two-income families. Mortgage payments for those who do qualify, perhaps with parental help, have

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raced ahead of income, especially for the young. Buyers aged twenty-four to twenty-nine have to pay 50 percent more of their average year's wages for a starter home than did buyers the same age in the early seventies.

The crisis is complicated by a maldistribution of available housing. Maldistribution is income-based, for example, when rent-controlled apartments, devised to benefit low-income tenants, are occupied by residents with average or above average incomes. Maldistribution is also job-based and geographical: In one region where jobs are scarce, homes are left unsold even at bargain prices; in another region, where jobs are available, or at least promising, there are shortages and soaring housing prices.

In short, too many Americans—across a wide spectrum of income—cannot find affordable housing.

How did this happen? A number of economic, demographic, and social factors contributed. However, the two causes that can most readily be remedied are: (1) shortsighted budget cuts in government housing programs that have decreased the supply of public housing, and (2) tax policies that subsidize people least in need (those who already own or can afford to buy homes even at inflated prices) but do nothing to help those now frozen out.

The federal housing budget has been slashed by 80 percent in the last decade, which has diminished incentives for private investors, states, and municipalities to invest in new low-income housing or in the maintenance/rehabilitation of existing public housing. In 1970, 3.5 million people had incomes under $5,000. By 1983, that number had increased to 5.5 million. Yet the number of "affordable" rental units—judged to be $125 per month for a household earning less than $5,000—remained at the 1970 level. Thus, in 1983, some 2 million low-income households paid more than they could reasonably afford for shelter.

Even under the latest tax reform, the tax breaks middle- and upper-income people receive through deduction of mortgage interest constitute a disproportionate share of federal housing subsidies—though this is seldom recognized for what it is. Put bluntly, households in the highest income bracket received nearly *twice* as much government housing help as those in the lowest. Consider, for example, that from 1980 to 1988, taking into account both direct subsidies and those concealed in the tax code:

- the 25 percent of U.S. households with annual incomes under $10,000 received 13 percent of all federal housing subsidies;
- the 27 percent of households with incomes between $10,000 and 20,000 received 7 percent of all federal housing subsidies;
- the 21 percent of households with incomes between $20,000 and 30,000 received 13 percent of all federal subsidies;
- the 20 percent of households with incomes between $30,000 and 50,000 received 44 percent of all subsidies; and
- the 7 percent of households with incomes over $50,000 received 24 percent of subsidies.

What can be done? Increase the federal housing budget and redistribute tax subsidies for housing. The National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC), the Harvard Center for Housing Study, and the task force commissioned by Congress last September to study the nation's housing problems agree: more money, more incentives, more efficiency, more local control, more housing for the poor are urgently needed as part of a national housing policy. While the drop in public funding has spurred a number of private projects, many of which boast considerable success, none of these can solve the problem without an infusion of public monies.

The congressional task force recommended that the government increase its budget on housing by $3 billion, in order to build, renovate, and purchase low-income housing. The NLIHA has suggested that 750,000 affordable units of housing be provided for low-income renters each year until the low-income stock is adequate to the demand.

But in view of the need to cut the nation's huge deficits, expenditures could be offset somewhat by revenue-raising, i.e., more tax reform. For starters, second-home mortgages—a sacred cow left untouched by tax reform—should be fully taxed. To help low- and middle-income households, tax deductions might be converted into tax credits, with caps to prevent abuse of the program by those not in need.

Senators Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) and Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) plan to introduce major housing legislation this summer, which could affect the housing budget allocations for fiscal year 1990. There appears to be support within Congress: to increase the efficiency of funds now allocated in the housing budget (so that monies are not spent disproportionately on inducements to developers, but are targeted for the lowest income brackets); to work through successful neighborhood-based nonprofits; to appropriate more money.

In order to assist first-time buyers, Congress could change

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regulations so that interest payments on FHA-insured mortgages could be deferred or reduced for a specified period; down payments could be reduced for first-time mortgagees. To encourage capital investment, fixed-rate government financing might be offered to those willing to invest in constructing low-income units. And the number of subsidized rentals could be increased, particularly for the neediest families, providing more stable alternatives than "shelters" or "welfare hotels."

Washington can do a lot, but it cannot do everything, nor should it. State and local governments need to re-examine who benefits and who is hurt by rent control, local building moratoriums, and restrictive zoning practices, particularly in those cities where such policies coexist with large populations of homeless and inadequately housed citizens. Fundamentally, all citizens need to recognize that decent housing is both a basic human right and a social need, and that our present housing system is neither efficient nor equitable. Doing something about it will cost a lot; doing nothing will cost even more.

THE SILENCE FROM HALABJA

The seven-year-long Persian Gulf War, having inflicted staggering physical and financial losses on both Iran and Iraq, has now sunk to an even deeper depredation.

In mid-March, using a variety of chemical weapons, Iraq launched a military offensive on the Iranian-held city of Halabja in northeastern Iraq. This was not the first time. The Iraqis used chemical agents to stall Iranian advances on its southern front in both 1984 and 1985. But the virulence of the Halabja attack is unprecedented. Over 4,000 of Iraq's own rebellious Kurdish subjects, nearly all civilians, were killed instantaneously by a combination of mustard gas and hydrogen cyanide. A week later, Iraq chemically bombed a group of Iranian frontier villages. And then Iran, in a malevolent tit for tat so characteristic of this war, retaliated by using chemical weapons against the Iraqis. Even worse, future scenarios for the gulf war must now include the possibility that the combatants will use medium-range missiles to gas each other's major cities. Iraq's Foreign Minister, Tariq Aziz, asserted as much last month when he promised that his country would use every weapon in its arsenal to combat an Iranian invasion.

A stunning jolt of revulsion should have been thrown through the consciences of the combatants and the world. But in a world inundated with acts deserving of moral outrage, it is all too easy to call for—and ignore—appeals to simple human decency. In the case of the spread and the use of toxic chemical weapons, however, both the appeal and a response are absolutely necessary.

Iran and Iraq were early signatories of the 1925 Geneva convention outlawing chemical warfare. But put to the test, they have abandoned their treaty obligations. The U.S. blames the USSR for supplying Iraq with the gas. The fact is, when it comes to chemical weapons, Iraq may have just as easily manufactured its own. The same processes used to produce fertilizers, pesticides, petrochemicals, and even detergents can be adapted to make chemical agents for warfare. Iran, for its part, is producing chemical weapons with the assistance of West German technology. Finally, more than thirty nations, including Libya, now possess some type of chemical armaments. Technological and legal restraints are obviously no longer sufficient to deter the proliferation and use of chemical war agents. That task rests increasingly on the slender strength of aroused moral opinion—moral opinion that needs to reach our own government which has declined to take up the issue as a violation of the Geneva conventions.

Putting an end to chemical warfare ultimately rests on bringing an end to the warfare between Iran and Iraq. But the flow of arms from both superpower blocs continues unabated. Early U.S. efforts to convince our allies to refrain from such trade crumbled with the sale of U.S. arms to Khomeini—a failure that not only has lengthened the war, but guaranteed its deepening savagery. At the same time, the Soviet Union continues to supply arms to both sides in the conflict.

Now it is time for the U.N. to press again for the implementation of last July's Security Council Resolution 589 for a cease-fire in the region. With a settlement underway in Afghanistan, Moscow might be persuaded to bring pressure on Iran this time round. Such an effort, coupled with Iran's recent brace of setbacks in the war—losses in southern and northeastern Iraq, an inability to raise new conscripts at home, losses at the hands of the U.S. Navy, continued economic deterioration—and Iraq's repeated claim to desire a cease-fire, could finally set in motion the escape to reason.

Last November, Seyyed Tabatabai Qomi, one of Iran's five "grand ayatollahs," issued a statement calling for an end to all fighting in the gulf. During the sacred Islamic season of Ramadan, let his reasonable suggestion be heard and heeded—before the whistling sound of the bomb and the silent pall of the clouds of death are raised again.

The nonunmistakable magisterium

FRANK: *I see by the papers that Father Curran is in the news again. Remind me why the pope is mad at him.*

ERNEST: Because Father Curran has argued publicly in favor of opinions contrary to the noninfallible magisterium, and he has refused to retract.

You mean the pope wants Father Curran to change his mind about something, but he won't?

Not exactly. I don't think the pope is mainly interested in Father Curran's mind.

What is he interested in, then?

Well, I guess you could say he's mainly interested in Father

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Curran's mouth—or, anyway, his typewriter. You see, he's not telling him what he should think or not think. He's just telling him what he shouldn't say or write.

But he already said it, or wrote it, didn't he?

Yes, he certainly did.

So, what does the pope want him to do now?

He wants him to take back the things the pope thinks he shouldn't have said.

How? Don't lots of people know he said them?

Yes, they do. He's been saying them for years. He'd just have to tell people he doesn't think those things any more.

You mean he'd have to change his mind?

Not strictly speaking. All he'd have to do is say he had changed his mind; or even just let somebody else say he had, and not contradict them.

Even if he hadn't?

Well, I'm sure the pope would much rather have him really change his mind, but the main thing is not what he thinks but what he says or writes.

You mean the pope would rather have him say something he didn't really think, as long as it was what the pope thought?

Well, I don't think he would put it just that way.

Oh . . . Would the pope do anything to me if he found out I said the things Father Curran said?

No, I don't think so.

Why not?

Because you're not a well-known moral theologian, but Father Curran is.

What difference does that make?

Father Curran is recognized to be an expert on these matters, and you certainly are not.

You mean the pope doesn't want experts to say what they think about what they're experts on?

Sometimes he does. It all depends what they think.

You mean it's O.K. if they think the same things as the pope, but not if they don't?

Right.

But then, what good is being an expert?

Sometimes not too much good. It depends.

Oh. . . . What was that word you used for the kinds of things Father Curran doesn't say the same things about as the pope?

You mean noninfallible magisterium?

That's it. What does that mean?

Magisterium is a Latin word. It means acting as a teacher.

And that other word? Is that Latin, too?

No, noninfallible is an English word—sort of. You can figure out what it means by breaking it up into parts. Fallible means capable of being mistaken. The prefix "in" means not. So infallible means . . .?

Not capable of being mistaken.

And the other prefix, "non," also means not. So put them together and what have you got?

Not not capable of being mistaken?

Right.

Isn't that a funny way to talk?

What do you mean?

Well, not not *sounds funny! They cancel out. Not not capable of being mistaken is just a long way of saying capable of being mistaken.*

So, noninfallible . . .

It's just a long way of saying fallible. Why don't they call it that? Wouldn't it be less confusing?

I suppose it might be. But it might give the wrong impression . . . Do you understand now what the problem is with Father Curran?

I think I do. The pope wants Father Curran to say he doesn't think some of the things he really does think about the things he's an expert on, because they contradict some of the things the pope thinks, but that he might be mistaken about.

That's about it.

What happens to Father Curran, since he won't do it?

He won't be considered a Catholic theologian any more.

You mean Father Curran is going to stop being a Catholic?

No, he'll still be a Catholic.

Will he stop being a theologian?

No, he'll still be a theologian, too.

But you said he wouldn't be a Catholic theologian.

No, I said he wouldn't be considered one.

But, who won't consider him one?

The pope, and a lot of people who work for him, and plenty of other people, too.

Even though he's still a Catholic and still a theologian, they're not going to consider him a Catholic theologian?

That's right.

That sounds really . . .

Really what?

Really . . . noninfallible!

SIMPLEX LAICUS

(Simplex Laicus is the devout sobriquet of James Gaffney, of New Orleans, Louisiana.)

REPORT FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA

SINGAPORE SQUEEZE

CHURCH-STATE FRICTION

"We live in an environment of fear. The government could come anytime and close us down." Such is the stark assessment of one employee of the Catholic Archdiocese of Singapore, following governmental suppression of the archdiocese's justice and peace ministries. Like stifling tropical air, an atmosphere of caution has descended upon both Catholics and Protestants, who together comprise roughly 12 percent of Singapore's 2.5 million inhabitants. Recent incidents of church-state conflict suggest this economically vibrant city-state, which has surpassed New York City as the

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world's second busiest port, is at a crossroads. Having attained the status of Asia's second most prosperous nation, Singapore now faces sensitive political questions that befit a financially stable and emerging nation.

Vincent Cheng, former head of the diocesan Justice and Peace Commission, sits in a government detention center—his eleventh month without a trial. He is accused of spearheading a "Marxist conspiracy." Twenty-one other Christian workers, arrested in the government sweep of last spring, have been released, owing in part to international protests. In December 1987 the government closed the offices of the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA), accusing the group of supporting "pro-Communist" movements and promoting "political causes in the region." Established in 1957, the CCA encompasses ninety-five Protestant churches and fifteen national councils in seventeen nations. CCA works in conjunction with the World Council of Churches on pastoral programs and publishes a newspaper, reporting abuses against the church throughout Asia. The Singapore government froze the CCA's bank accounts and expelled its five expatriate members in January. The group, under the direction of Reverend Park Sang Jang, then moved its headquarters to Hong Kong.

Invoking the Internal Securities Act, a legislative holdover from British colonial times, the government of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew has charged that Christians have participated in "radical political activities . . . which had nothing to do with the Christian faith." A government press release stated that the present Singaporean administration "will not allow any foreign or regional organization . . . to meddle in the internal affairs of Singapore."

The provenance of church-state tension dates back to 1980-81, when, in response to the government-sponsored importation of over twenty thousand Filipino workers, mostly women, the Gaylang Catholic Center was formed under the aegis of Rev. Guillaume Arotcarena to minister to the Filipino Catholics.

Arotcarena wrote a book, *The Maid Tangle*, documenting the abuses of Filipino domestic workers in Singapore. While the government took a dim view of both the book's release and the Center's ministry, which included sanctuary for abused maids, it did not take action against Arotcarena or the Center until the spring of 1987. Arotcarena was then pressured to resign, which he did along with three other priests appointed to the diocesan Justice and Peace Commission. One of these clerics, Rev. Edgar D'Souza, raised the hackles of Singapore's government when he focused international attention on its closure of the Gaylang Center and arrest of its leader, Vincent Cheng, while visiting in his native Australia. That endeavor prompted the government to disclose publicly D'Souza's long-standing relationship with a woman, a move which led to D'Souza's resignation and his persona non grata status in Singapore.

Christian groups, however, are not the only ones feeling the heavy breath of the Singaporean government. The prestigious *Far Eastern Economic Review* has been stung with a restricted circulation order after printing a statement by D'Souza, claiming that the government was forcing the archbishop to squelch justice and peace activities. The *Asian Wall Street Journal*, *Time* magazine, and *Asiaweek* have suffered similar sanctions. Prime Minister Lee is suing the *Far Eastern Economic Review* for reporting the church-state imbroglio, and there is speculation that Archbishop Gregory Yong will be called to the witness stand when the case goes to trial in the next few months.

According to one priest, who, like most Singaporean church officials, asks not to be identified, Archbishop Yong was told by the prime minister that either "you get your house in order or I will do it for you." The prime minister, he claimed, threatened to impose additional measures against the church, including opening its mail, if it continued its involvement in Singapore's political life. Confronted with Vincent Cheng's signed confession of leading a "Marxist conspiracy," the archbishop was led deceitfully into a government-sponsored press conference, where he stated that he had to take the confession at face value, but wished to explore whether or not the statement was signed "under duress." The government-monitored daily, *The Straits Times*, did not report the

After restraining the circulation of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, *Asiaweek*, and *Time* magazine, largely for their coverage of church-state friction, the Singapore government provided a rationale for censorship through its Trade and Industry Minister Lee Hsien Loong, son of sixty-four-year-old Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

Addressing a recent meeting of the Singapore Press Club, Lee (considered to be his father's chosen successor) stated that the restricted publications have erred by taking sides on domestic issues. They have sought "the right to play a role in Singapore equivalent to the role which American newspapers play in the U.S. In other words, be a player, set the agenda, drive the public debate, sit in inquisition."

Such a model, Lee argued, "is an elegant theory but not verified by experience," leading to "mayhem and riots rather than enlightenment"; such a press does not suit the Singaporean political landscape.

Lee referred to a dusty poll suggesting that Walter Cronkite was the most trusted man in the United States and asked, "Can you imagine what Singapore would be like if one day, perhaps shall we say several years after the general elections, the prime minister of Singapore would command less respect and less trust than a media person?"

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archbishop's statements in their entirety, thus suggesting that the archbishop unquestioningly supported the authenticity of the confession.

Despite government manipulation, many Catholics feel that the archbishop has not been tenacious enough in his support of Cheng and others working through the Justice and Peace Commission, which now appears to be largely inactive. The Gaylang Center remains closed. Its leaders released from prison cannot engage in political organizations without government permission, and are bound by job and travel restrictions. The work of the Young Christian Workers Center—a group that helped factory workers in the Jurong industrial district organize for improved working conditions—has also been curtailed.

While Prime Minister Lee presides over a virtual one-party system (the ruling People's Action Party holds all but one of the parliamentary seats), he has also, in a twenty-eight-year reign, dramatically improved Singapore's standard of living, provided housing for over 80 percent of the population, and seen the infant mortality rate drop below that of the United States. Yet along with his "benevolent despotism" are less than salutary side-effects. Singapore's politicians and voters have yet to learn the skills of self-government in a multi-party state; the future success of the nation depends almost solely on the beneficence of Lee's successor. In the case of Singapore, that may well be Mr. Lee's thirty-five-year-old son, Brigadier General Lee Hsien Loong, considered by many to be a less dynamic leader than his father.

Yet developments in Singapore bespeak a larger trend throughout Southeast Asia. The government of neighboring Malaysia, for example, has arrested church workers for fomenting political unrest, and is still holding a Christian Brother in connection with this alleged crime. A writer for the *Catholic News* of Singapore claims, "Mr. Lee, an admirer of Ferdinand Marcos, was disturbed by the role of the Catholic church in the ascension to power of Corazon Aquino. He is also disturbed by the active role of Christians in government protests in South Korea. He does not want such Christian activism here." It is evident that throughout the region, the church's struggle for a more humane society is giving "strong men" the jitters.

Singapore, since its founding by British scholar and explorer Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819, has been a duty-free port, an unfettered crossroad of international trade. But with the exchange of products also comes the flow of ideas. The notion of church involvement in issues of social justice is, it seems, a ripe idea, regardless of government repression.

STEPHEN B. SCHARPER

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OF SEVERAL MINDS Abigail McCarthy

WHEN THE CHEERING STOPS

LIFE AFTER POLITICAL DEATH

In human terms the cost seems all too high. As would-be presidential candidates are forced from the race one by one, the devastation wrought by rejection or failure in support is written on their faces for all to see. We have seen Patricia Schroeder unable to hold back tears, Richard Gephardt fighting them throughout a concession speech (only to succumb in private), Bob Dole unable to conceal his bitterness, Paul Simon, his philosophical, cheerful acceptance belied by his flatness of tone. Still vivid in our political memories is the picture of a distraught and emotional Edmund Muskie standing in a New Hampshire snowstorm to challenge his detractors as his campaign faltered.

Former Vice-President Mondale, Democratic standard-bearer in 1984, has flatly described running for the highest political office as "torture." In a surprisingly frank interview with a Minneapolis newspaperman when he returned to Minnesota this past year to practice law, Mondale described the exhaustion which is the inevitable result of the grueling struggle through primary after primary and, in his case, the final national campaign.

"Some days," he is quoted as saying, "I'd be listening to myself speak. I'd have no idea what I was saying. I felt like a stone." He also described the effect of defeat and the long effort to regain his personal equilibrium. He had been actively involved in electoral politics for thirty years and then on one election night he was, in his words, "pushed off a cliff—and clunk. That was it." It took months before he could take up his life again, and perhaps the years between '84 and '87 before he fully recovered. He announced that he would never run for office again. "It was tough. I'd wake up at three in the morning, debating. Finally I got about ten good books and put them right by my bedside. And I told the law firm, 'I'll be there when I'll be there, but I'm not ready yet.'" He spent healing time with family and good friends and took long vacations with his wife in the Caribbean and Colorado. He is just now beginning to involve himself in politics again, but, so far at least, only on behalf of others.

What Mondale experienced probably pales beside the experience of President Jimmy Carter who attained the presidency only to lose it disastrously after one term. Who can forget his ravaged face as he left office? It was heartening then to Washingtonians to have him return to

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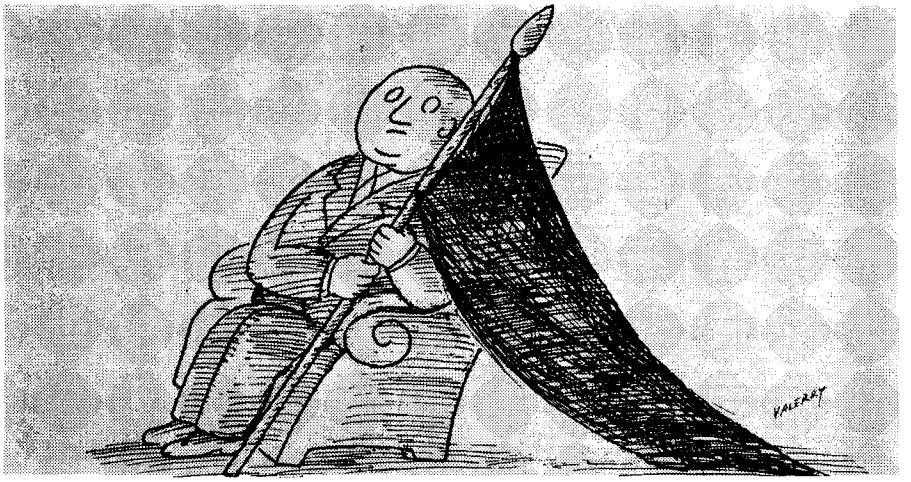

this city recently—the first time since 1980—with a tale of hope and accomplishment. He told an audience gathered by Gannett Publications how he has been able to use his status as former president to change lives for the poor and desperate here and abroad through the agency of the Carter Library and Foundation associated with Emory University in Atlanta. This is especially true in Africa where, as he said with a smile, "They're not too used to visits from American presidents, present or past, so I am able to bring the projects to the attention of the highest levels of government and get their help."

President Carter described his involvement and that of his wife Rosalynn as that of facilitators. The examples he gave were heart-lifting evidence that access and goodwill united with skill and knowledge can change the world bit by bit. With the help of grants from a European philanthropist, the Carters were able to change the food situation in Ghana. A group of sixteen Ghanaian farmers, under the direction of agricultural scientist Frank Borlaug, were persuaded to experiment with improved methods of growing grain—on an acre each. Their success encouraged others to join the program until thousands were following their lead. In consequence, Ghana, once a country on the edge of famine, is now exporting food to its neighbors. In the same way, working with another group of scientists, a buoyant Carter told his hearers, they are confident that within ten years they will be instrumental in eliminating a parasitical worm which is the principal killer of African children. Clearly, life after political death.

Inspiring as the Carter story is, and as successful as the Mondale recovery has been, their stories are not likely to hearten this year's ex-candidates just yet. Most of them have given at least two years of their lives to arduous, slogging fund-raising and campaigning, and time before that to hoping and planning. They, too, will return to their previous work—as Dole has to the Senate and Gephardt to the House—or they will find new avenues for their energies. But it will take a long time for their wounds to heal. No one asked them to run, say the cynics. They have only themselves to blame. But the hurt of former candidates might be more bearable if they could feel that our system had given them a chance to be heard and really evaluated by attentive voters. That is hardly the case.

As columnist Haynes Johnson has written, the real problem is the sorry state of campaigning in the media age. The candidates' best efforts go into raising the money for the political consultants and media advisers who will market them. Image-making takes precedence over issues and persuasion. Johnson cited the example of Senator Gore—a much better candidate than his New York campaign suggested. "Smart, informed, capable, and, at times, eloquent," even "presidential," yet under the guidance of media consultant David Garth, Gore resorted to targeting blocs of voters in what Johnson describes as "the politics of pander." Marketing is all. Walter Mondale is right when he says, "The system is such that issues that ought to be central to a campaign—character, honesty, ability, backbone, and energy levels—are examined less and less by the voters." What are we going to do about it? □

OF SEVERAL MINDS David R. Carlin, Jr.

HOOFBEATS OF REVIVAL

CLIPPETY-CLOP, CLIPPETY-CLOP

Religion, it seems to me, is on the verge of one of its periodic revivals in the United States. This sort of thing has been going on a long time now, at least since 1734, when, in Northampton, Massachusetts, Jonathan Edwards presided over the beginnings of the Great Awakening, a revival that was to sweep through British North America during the next fifteen years.

The most recent revival took place in the 1950s, an era which, popular myth to the contrary notwithstanding, was not totally devoted to McCarthyism and Elvis Presley. The junior senator from Wisconsin and Elvis the Pelvis were, so to speak, the bookends of the age; in the space between them a considerable amount of rational and civilized living was possible. Yet extreme movements in one direction provoke equally extreme movements in the opposite direction: this is the sociological equivalent of Newton's third law of motion. Thus I hold Joe McCarthy to blame for Elvis. Plainly it was McCarthy's worst sin.

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At all events the religious revival phenomenon has been going on in this country long enough for some enterprising, though perhaps not quite respectable, historian to have established a law of periodicity for it. My own suggestion, which I merely assert without offering proof, is that revivals have a life of about fifteen years, alternating with secular interregnums that last about twice as long, except that the secular interval may be extended as the result of a major war.

At first I suspected that the signs of religious renewal I seemed to be detecting were merely projections of my own subjectivity. After all, I am growing older; and increasing age, at least after a certain point (and I have long since reached that point) brings increasing awareness of one's mortality; and thoughts of mortality naturally increase one's susceptibility to religious views and sentiments. Could it be that the religious revival I seem to see is only a mirage created by my personal revival?

But I am neither so old nor so religious as to be subject to sacral hallucinations. Lately, it seems, I keep running across otherwise quite secular persons who, without either ostentation or embarrassment, reveal their religious identities. It may well be that they have been religiously committed for years. But in the past they would no more reveal these commitments publicly than they would go naked in public; religion was a private thing, almost an off-color thing.

The presidential candidacies of Pat Robertson and Jesse Jackson are further, though admittedly slight, evidence of a religious revival. Jackson is not perceived as being chiefly a religious figure, while Robertson, who is, has done very poorly in the presidential race. Yet the fact that ministers are running for president at all is the sign of something in the wind.

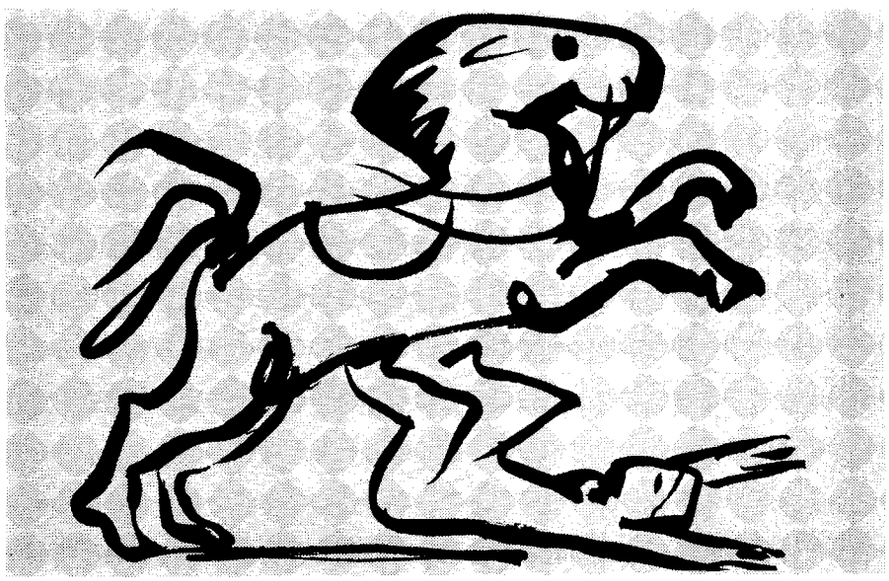
(One thing the Jackson candidacy *is* evidence of—if I may be allowed to pat myself on the back both by way of self-gratulation and by way of consoling myself for the misfortunes of my political party—is the accuracy of the analysis I offered in this space seven months ago [''A Party of Outsiders,'' October 9, 1987], when I suggested that the problem the Democrats have in presidential elections is that they have traditionally constituted the party of outsiders, the party of the socially marginalized—something that won't wash in an age when there are relatively fewer marginalized constituencies than, say, during the years preceding the New Deal. Jesse Jackson is the candidate of the marginalized par excellence: like the charge of the Light Brigade, his candidacy is magnificent, but it is not war—or at least not winning presidential politics.)

Let me return to my subject. My strongest evidence for a coming religious revival is the expansion of ''people'' and ''lifestyle'' features in American newspapers. I fully appreciate how preposterous it sounds to make this claim, since the stock in trade of such newspaper features is the celebration of behavior that stands (or rather runs, since such behavior rarely stands still) at the antipodes of the religious mentality. But read these features as satire, and you'll see my point. The writers and editors of such features may not intend to be deliberately satirical, though this is no doubt sometimes the case. But some subjects do not permit themselves to be discussed in other than a satirical manner. If the writers and editors don't realize they are satirists, they remain satirists all the same, guided by some journalistic oversoul in building better than they know. And if we often don't get the joke, that doesn't mean there is no joke; it means the joke is on us.

The next time you read a ''people'' feature, see if the implicit theme is not ''the vanity of human wishes''—an ancient religious theme. After a binge of secularism that now has extended twenty-five years, we find ourselves living with drugs, AIDS, poverty, homelessness, divorce, abortion, out-of-wedlock births, functional illiteracy, cultural illiteracy, etc., while vast numbers of the ''more fortunate'' are engaged in the indecent exercise of getting and spending as much as they can. Never mind moralizing about all this. Simply from an aesthetic point of view, it is not an attractive picture. I don't know how wicked it may be, but it certainly suffers from a deficiency in loveliness.

None of this is to deny that there have been genuine social and moral accomplishments in the last quarter-century or so; for there certainly have been such accomplishments, not a few of them; and many items on my list of current ills are simply the price we have had to pay for these accomplishments. But we are tired of paying the price.

What the religious revival, whose hoofbeats I hear in the distance, will amount to remains, of course, to be seen. It even remains to be seen whether there is enough of a sense of the sacred left in American culture to sustain a genuine religious revival. However that may be, my sense is that an era has played itself out and is coming to an end. □



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EL SALVADOR: LAND OF NO COMPROMISE

WHAT CAN WE EXPECT NEXT?

JIM CHAPIN &
PATRICK LACEFIELD

It was hot, dry, and dusty in the town of Ilobasco on the twenty-first day of February. The rains would come in May, but meanwhile there was an election to be run. The air was filled with typically grandiloquent oratory. Abelardo Argueta, an activist in President Jose Napoleon Duarte's ruling Christian Democratic Party (PDC), took the floor to denounce in the harshest possible terms the candidates of the National Republican Alliance (ARENA).

There was nothing new in his speech. The airwaves and the print media were crammed with charges and counter-charges and gutter appeals that would have shocked the most hardened American machine politician. Christian Democratic ads pictured ARENA leader Roberto D'Aubuisson with a kerchief over his face, surrounded by snapshots of his minions who had been implicated in kidnappings and death squad activities. An ARENA victory, these ads trumpeted, would mean an *acabado*—a settling of accounts—a return to the Salvadoran killing fields of 1979-83. ARENA, in turn, ran Duarte family photos claiming nepotism and rampant corruption and even hinting that one of Duarte's daughters was in an "improper" relationship.

Building to a finale, Argueta concluded his speech with an appeal to the heavens. "If I lie," he cried, "may God strike me down." God apparently responded: Argueta collapsed with a heart attack and died. As an omen of things to come for the Christian Democrats, it was prophetic.

On March 20, an estimated 60-70 percent of the eligible Salvadoran electorate went to the polls for the fifth national election in six years. They were electing sixty members of the National Assembly and mayors and town councils in the country's 262 municipalities. The turnout was less impressive than it sounds: most estimates at Salvador's adult population put it at 2.5 million adults; the official election commission listed 1.9 million as eligible to vote. Of these, 1.6 million got poll cards, and probably less than 1.1 million voted. As the *Economist* points out, this is less than one-half of the adults. Penalties for not voting, which boosted turnout in earlier balloting, have largely been abandoned.

Going into the election, the PDC held thirty-three seats in the Assembly and 160 of the municipalities. By nightfall, the cautious optimism with which the U.S.-blessed PDC had approached the election had been dissolved. Exit polls indicated that ARENA had routed them, winning thirty-three to thirty-five of the sixty Assembly seats and over 200 of the municipalities.

"We accept ARENA's triumph, we acknowledge the decision of the people," stated Salvadoran Vice-President Castille Claramount. Father and son—President Duarte and his son Alejandro, the PDC candidate for the mayor of San Salvador—also conceded defeat. The loss of the mayoralty of the capital, a PDC stronghold since 1964, was a particularly devastating blow.

This acceptance didn't last long. When the tally was finally released, twelve days after the voting and on April Fool's Day, ARENA was credited with only thirty seats, the PDC with twenty-three, and the National Conciliation Party (PCN) won seven. Given the PCN's tacit alliance with the PDC, this means a dead heat. This will, at least, relieve Duarte, in his last year before next year's presidential election, from jousting with a sure ARENA majority.

"If the Christian Democrats are not cheating, they are trying hard to give the appearance that they are," suggested one observer. Initial pledges by ARENA and the PDC to work together—however unlikely—are now definitely out the window. Now Vice-President Claramount is singing a different tune. "ARENA is a Nazi-Fascist party," he declared, "trying to commit fraud by intimidating people into giving them a majority." ARENA is threatening to take to the streets to protect its victory, backed by the threat of a capital strike by the National Council of Private Enterprise.

If this sounds like trouble for U.S. policy for El Salvador, you wouldn't know it from spokesmen like Charles Redman at the State Department. He hailed the balloting as yet another demonstration of the maturing of democracy and the devotion

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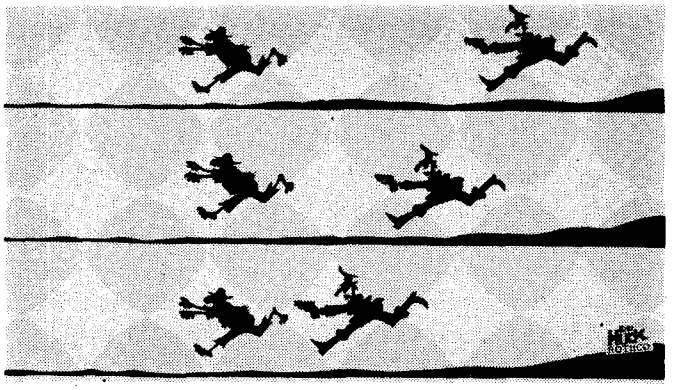
of ordinary Salvadorans to the democratic process. "We don't choose sides in these kinds of elections," he declared, ignoring the estimated $2 million the CIA funneled to Duarte in the 1984 elections, through the mediums of the West German Konrad Adenauer Foundation and a Venezuelan PR firm. But even if the State Department doesn't remember this, the Salvadoran right does.

Just as Duarte's victory over D'Aubuisson in 1984 removed El Salvador as a point of contention in American politics, opening a bipartisan flood of economic and military aid, so ARENA's victory in 1988 is likely once again to make El Salvador a point of contention in the U.S. Congress. You wouldn't know that from the sparse coverage in the American media. With Panama, Nicaragua, and Honduras dominating air time and copy inches, the Central American quota for coverage is just plain used up. But not for long.

The continuing crisis for American policy in El Salvador is a result of the failures—and successes—in the prosecution of three goals. The first, and overriding, objective of American policy has been the formation of an army and a military strategy adequate to the task of preventing a victory by the five armies of the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN). The second goal is the strengthening of the economy and the promotion of limited reforms aimed at undercutting the rebels and exploiting the conservative and entrepreneurial side of the Salvadoran peasantry. Third, the Americans have sought to find electoral rules of the game that can be adhered to both by rightist and mildly reformist forces. Such rules would present a salable image of Salvadoran reality to the American public, make it possible to prosecute the war more effectively, and establish some modicum of civilian control over a "professionalized" military.

Massive military assistance by the Reagan administration, rising from $6 million in 1980 to more than $120 million alone in 1988, has helped to stymie the FMLN. The Salvadoran army has increased in numbers from 12,000 to over 50,000 in the same period. Its tactics have changed as well, from a 9-to-5 army employing huge sweeps to a partially effective counter-insurgency force supported by air power, with officers and soldiers trained in the U.S. The increased mobility of helicopter-based units and improved reconnaissance by U.S. planes operating out of Honduras has forced the FMLN to break into small units and splintered most of its "zones of control." The prevailing "low intensity conflict" strategy has put more emphasis on winning the hearts and minds of the peasantry with army-directed projects such as the "United to Reconstruct" campaign designed to build roads, water systems, bridges, schools, and to install electricity.

Despite this, the war shows no signs of abating. The FMLN, numbering only some 5,000-6,000 troops plus village militias and urban commandos, has demonstrated again and again its capacity to strike heavy blows. Last spring, 800 guerrillas overran the supposedly impregnable military base at El Paraiso in Chaletenango for the second time in four years, inflicting



400 casualties, including a dead U.S. adviser. By the U.S. embassy's own estimates, the guerrillas have caused hundreds of millions of dollars of damage in the last seven years with attacks on the infrastructure, particularly targeting export crops and electrical supplies. The eight transportation stoppages decreed by the FMLN so far this year have crippled commerce and have spread even to the capital. Their pre-election violence included setting off bombs in the capital, one of which wounded several children.

The rebels have advanced an eighteen-point plan for the humanization of the war in which they would stop the use of land mines and economic sabotage in return for a government prohibition on air strikes and long-range artillery. Duarte and the U.S. embassy, not to mention the military chieftains, turned thumbs down on these proposals. The dialogue between the rebels and the government, resumed last fall in accordance with the Arias plan, broke down soon after the assassination of human-rights leader Herbert Anaya (presumably by right-wing death squads) upon Duarte's insistence that the rebels lay down their arms as a precondition to serious negotiation.

The U.S. government is insistently against any "power-sharing" between the FMLN and the civilian wing of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) on the one hand and the government and the army on the other, as a prelude for genuinely free elections with all parties participating. "We're not about to let them shoot their way into power," an embassy official says. But the FMLN-FDR see a Salvadoran oligarchy and military still in the driver's seat, capable of returning to the terror tactics of the past whenever they feel it is "necessary." If they needed a crystal-clear picture of what can happen when guerrillas lay down their arms to enter the political process to vie for power, they need look no further than the case of the *Union Patriotica* in Colombia in the last year. The UP has been decimated by the assassination of nearly 300 of its leaders and members by hit squads composed of right-wingers, military men, and cocaine dealers. Not a pretty picture.

There continue to be differences between the Marxist-Leninist FMLN and the FDR, the latter composed of opposition political parties and some unions and headed by social democrat Guillermo Ungo and social Christian Ruben Zamora. The FMLN's *jefe maximo*, Joaquin Villalobos, called the elections a "farce," announcing that the FMLN would target polling stations to enforce a boycott. In reality, apart

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from a transport stoppage and a few bombs, the FMLN did not make a major effort to stop the voting.

The FDR did not endorse any boycott. In November, in accord with the provisions of the Arias plan, Ungo and Zamora returned to El Salvador (see *Commonweal*, December 18, 1987) in order to, in their words, "take advantage of the limited political opening." While there, Ungo's National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and Zamora's Popular Social Christian Movement joined with a newly-formed Social Democratic party to form the Democratic Convergence, dedicated to working inside the country to end the war and promote radical economic and social reforms.

After some initial explorations, the parties decided not to participate in the March 20 election. Zamora explained the reasons over lunch in a San Salvador restaurant in late February. He had returned to join others of his party comrades on a permanent basis. Security was a problem, he said. There had been an upsurge in detentions and murders by the security forces—some in broad daylight and by uniformed personnel—since the FDR leader's visit in November. "No one will rent me a house, because they are afraid it will be blown up. So I move from hotel to hotel until my old home—where I lived before I went into exile in 1980—is improved." His family remains abroad—in Nicaragua. "I try to vary my routine but the most dangerous time is when you are traveling around. My driver has some training, but. . . ." We give thanks for a table where we can see the door of the restaurant.

He explained the reasons for nonparticipation: "Our parties are at a disadvantage in terms of financing and organization. To launch a political campaign that's serious requires resources and meticulous organization. We've only just returned. In addition, we came back not just to run candidates but to end this war and seek national reconciliation. This election will not do that."

One of the long-standing U.S. policy objectives has been to split the FDR from the FMLN. An odd kind of double-speak characterizes the U.S. government's pitch. On the one hand, it claims that Ungo and Zamora are nothing more than democratic fig leaves for Communist guerrillas, men who lack any real power. On the other, it claims that these supposedly powerless figures could turn El Salvador around by incorporating themselves into the current political process. Zamora himself says, "We will not break with the FMLN because we have made an alliance between our two autonomous forces to push for a negotiated settlement and a democratic system that works for all Salvadorans. Throughout Salvadoran history there are examples of democratic forces allying themselves with revolutionary forces toward a common goal."

As for the FMLN, they have always survived without much foreign assistance though foreign inspiration and advice have always been important. Even Salvadoran Air Force General Rafael Bustillo, a hard-liner, recently compared the rebels' relative self-sufficiency to the *contras'* continuing dependence on U.S. aid for mere survival. He should know. He approved the *contras'* resupply effort that operated out of Salvador's Ilopango Airport until Gene Hasenfuss was shot down over Nicaragua and brought the operation down with him. It is common wisdom that the guerrillas can strike pretty much anywhere they want and bring the country to a temporary halt. What they cannot do, in the face of American aid, is win.

The FMLN, of course, begs to differ. "Anyone with his eyes closed and blindfolded can see that this war is won!" insisted Commandante Villalobos in a recent interview (a perhaps more ambiguous choice of phrases than he intended!). Recently, an FMLN sympathizer claimed that the FMLN had 12,000 fighters, controlled 44 percent of the country, and would stop the election from happening in 200 municipalities. (In fact, other evidence suggests half as many guerrillas, perhaps a third as much "control," and at least 220 municipalities had elections.)

The sense of unreality in these conversations appears also in apparently genuine guerrilla documents recently captured by the government which reflect the idea that the U.S., in the middle of an election year, would not respond to a "strategic revolutionary advance." The rebels tried this at the last change of administration with their January 1980 "final offensive" designed to present Reagan with a *fait accompli*. It didn't work then and it won't work now. It is not at all clear that opposition to the present government's failure to gain peace, its corruption, and the worsening economic situation would lead to greater support for the FMLN.

The FMLN with its Marxist-Leninist leadership does not represent the majority of the Salvadoran people. In the absence of war, the FDR and left unions would be more likely to fill the considerable space to the left of the PDC. Still, the FMLN "objectively" serves the democratic cause in El Salvador, because without their existence, the U.S. would not have cared a fig for democracy in El Salvador. Nor would the oligarchs and the military have been forced away from their chosen methods of keeping power. While conditions have changed somewhat in the last seven years, most notably with the startling decline in the number of human rights violations, the same forces still hold the power and the wealth while most Salvadorans have little of either.

The FMLN, against its will, may—like the *contras*—be a bargaining chip. The problem is that no one wants to bargain. American policymakers, quick to praise the electoral results, say the ARENA victory is a victory for democracy. That is like saying that the victory for the Nazis in the 1933 elections in Germany showed the strength of the Weimar Republic. ARENA is certainly no more a democratic party at heart than are the Marxist-Leninists of the FMLN. (Ironically, as with the initial assembly balloting in 1982, U.S. policies have strengthened ARENA. Then—when the U.S. Government intervened to force the choice of Magana over D'Aubuisson for interim president—as now, the U.S. bemoans the results its policies pre-ordain.) ARENA, like its allies in the private sector and the military, is an authoritarian movement playing (for now) by democratic rules and winning. Saying that ARENA will be

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more "moderate" now that it has a "stake in the system" begs the point: for most of Salvadoran history these people have been the system—they just don't want to let anyone else be. And, oddly enough, the Reagan administration has never been willing to let the left have a "piece of the system" in the idea that this will "moderate" them!

ARENA's economic program can be boiled down to a few words: "unleash the private sector." "The collectivist structure of the agrarian reform is at the root of its failure," says ARENA president Alfredo Cristiani. "The campesinos are not motivated because they don't own their land, nor do they control the sale of what they produce. . . . The people of El Salvador want a free-market-oriented economy where private enterprise and private property are respected. Besides, how can there be political freedom where there is no economic freedom?"

The right wing always considered Duarte a socialist because he nationalized the banks, carried on a partial agrarian reform, and gave the state a monopoly on export marketing of cash crops. They expected Carter to back these plans: they knew he was a Communist because he talked about human rights. Reagan shocked the right when he backed the same program. Still, they never blamed Reagan, assuming that he was being misadvised by sinister left-wingers in the U.S. State Department. Now they hope to return to the "crony capitalism" which relies on the depression of wages and the repression of "agitators."

As to the goal of constructing a modern state, with a political consensus, fair elections, and some kind of civilian control over the military, U.S. policy has not succeeded. The ARENA victory won't help, even if ARENA stays on its best behavior, hoping to win the presidency next year. The political space that allowed the FDR leaders to return and which has seen increased student, labor, and human rights demonstrations may prove an extremely perishable commodity. Even the U.S. embassy is reported to be "reassessing" its initial support for the FDR's return to political work inside El Salvador, given its refusal to break with the FMLN. Ruben Zamora and his party are looking to take their message on the road outside the capital in the next few months, but that may be a risky venture given the lack of civilian control in the countryside.

What brought down the Christian Democrats in the campaign just concluded was the severe economic crisis. The PDC campaigned against the right by conjuring up visions of the death squads back in power and claiming that only the PDC had kept the FMLN from power. Incredibly, Duarte went so far as to defend the armed forces against charges of corruption by ex-Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa, now a leading light in ARENA: "This is anti-patriotic," Duarte said "because the guerrillas will use it as propaganda." Meanwhile ARENA stuck to personal slander and pocketbook issues. Milk prices have tripled. The average salaries for workers in the three main export crops (cotton, sugar, coffee) have dropped by two-thirds. Per capita income has dropped 38 percent in seven years.

A U.S.-imposed austerity plan virtually guaranteed that the PDC base would shrivel up after 1985. Embassy figures tout five years of "modest growth," pointing to a 2.6 percent rise in GNP, an inflation rate of "only" 25 percent, and an increase in net international reserves to $21 million. In fact, even these successes have required a U.S. contribution of more than $600 million, more than half the Salvadoran national budget. U.S. aid was tilted to the private sector, while the agrarian reform sector was left as a classic public swamp: not enough credit, not enough technical assistance, not enough good land in the first place.

Has Duarte been a puppet of the U.S. or of the armed forces, or both? The answer is complicated. He had apparently granted a *de facto* amnesty for past transgressions by the armed forces even before the amnesty in December that freed both suspected leftist rebels and death squad killers. He has taken to blaming any act of violence, even the murder of Herbert Anaya of the Commission on Human Rights, on the FMLN. His kissing of the American flag last year on a visit to the White House outraged all Salvadoran nationalists, whatever their politics.

Still, he brought the U.S. and the armed forces along on a policy of dialogue with the rebels, he has opened some political space in the country, and he won army support for a "soak-the-rich" tax (later overturned by the oligarchy-dominated Supreme Court). And—in perhaps the most significant impact of the Arias plan on El Salvador—Durate reluctantly managed to convince the army to allow 4,300 refugees from the Mesa Grande camp in Honduras to resettle in areas of guerrilla persistence.

Duarte cannot run for reelection, and the PDC must find a new candidate for 1989. Adolfo Rey Prendes, the minister of communications, is the front-runner, but not the U.S. embassy's choice. In fact the embassy preferred Rey Prendes's current rival, Planning Minister Fidel Chavez Mena, to Duarte even in 1984. Rey Prendes, the classic insider and a founder of the party, is a short, overweight bear of a man who is described by Zamora as a man without principles. As things stand now, he has the nomination sewed up, but the embassy still hopes. As one Salvadoran official sympathetic to Chavez Mena put it: "The one silver lining with the ARENA victory is that maybe now the PDC will turn to Chavez Mena." Chavez cultivates closer ties with the private sector and is less in the populist/communitarian mode that tends to drive the "productive sector" (as the oligarchy arrogantly calls itself) to distraction.

Duarte's last year will be hard sledding if ARENA's majority holds up. With the right to appoint Supreme Court judges and the attorney general, the Assembly majority can insure that there will be no prosecutions for death squad activities. There will be no further talk of bringing D'Aubuisson to the bar on charges of murdering Archbishop Oscar Romero. The rise of D'Aubuisson and Ochoa in ARE-

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NA will strengthen hard-liners in the military. ARENA has long talked of sending U.S. advisers packing and deep-sixing "low intensity conflict" for something a lot more intense, on the Guatemalan model, but also less likely to work. The last two times the hard right was strongest, in 1979-81 and 1983-84, the government came closest to losing.

Up to now one of the few genuine successes Duarte and the U.S. could claim (a "success" based on an open checkbook) was the "professionalization" of the army and its wooing away from an instinctual alliance with the oligarchy. That will now be put to the test. One former high-ranking officer says, "The army knows the country is in turmoil. And there's been no change of heart on democracy and human rights. They'd still like to take power." If anything, massive U.S. aid has made the army more independent not just from the oligarchy, but from any civilian government. Whether this "new" army will want to suffer the consequences of ARENA's nationalist resentment of U.S. support of the PDC is an open question.

It is obvious that the Salvadoran conflict requires compromise to end it. It is also obvious that no such compromise is in sight or even likely. At present none of the sides in El Salvador is likely to win; none is likely to lose. Except the Salvadoran people—even under trying conditions—one of the friendliest peoples around. As the war in El Salvador enters its tenth year, it is easier to see it lasting into the next century than to see it ending anytime soon.

One thing is for sure: the longer it continues, the more polarized it will become. If the U.S. continues to insist on a "victory" in El Salvador we will get only more war. That can't be either in our interest or in the interest of El Salvador. The elections of 1984 opened a possibility for El Salvador, but it seems that the elections of 1988 may have closed it. Ronald Reagan's policies in Central America have prevented "another Nicaragua" in El Salvador, but he leaves to his successor a situation in that land not remarkably different from that he faced when he came to power. □

KNOWING WHEN TO STOP

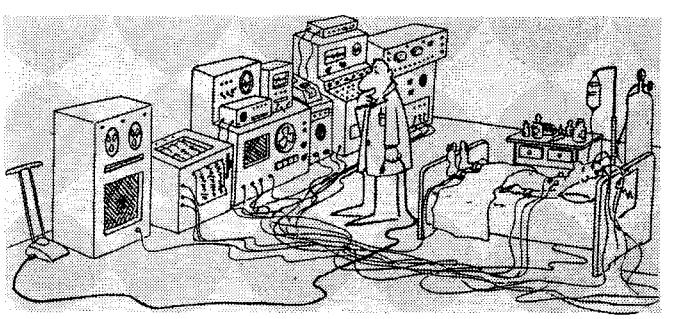
EXPERIENCE, DEATH, & CATHOLIC WISDOM

JOHN J. MITCHELL, JR.

I recently had the privilege of attending a meeting of people engaged in pastoral care ministry in several Catholic hospitals in the metropolitan New York area. The meeting was convened to discuss some of the ethical issues raised about withholding or terminating the use of artificial hydration and nutrition for patients who are terminally ill or in a persistent vegetative state. At the outset of the meeting the participants viewed a video produced by the Mercy Health Corporation focusing on these issues. I was invited to comment on the substance of the video, and to elicit the reactions of those in attendance. I came away from the meeting with a renewed sense of the importance of pastoral care professionals in Catholic health care ministry, and with a deep conviction that those who are anxious for moral guidance about these troubling issues should turn to those who are on the front line in caring for the sick and the dying.

The video presentation offered a particularly sensitive treatment of the process of deciding when it may be morally appropriate to withhold or terminate the use of artificial hydration and nutrition procedures. The discussants in the video included physicians, patients, nurses, family members, pastoral care professionals, and medical ethicists who are frequently involved in these difficult choices. Many of the participants in the video were Catholic. They expressed their interest in struggling with this issue in light of the principles of traditional Catholic medical moral theology.

The video noted that Catholic medical moral thought—utilizing a traditional distinction between "ordinary and extraordinary means"—has long taught that a patient normally has a moral obligation to accept "ordinary" means of treatment, but that a patient does not have a moral obligation to endure "extraordinary" means of treatment. In Catholic teaching, "extraordinary" means have generally been re-



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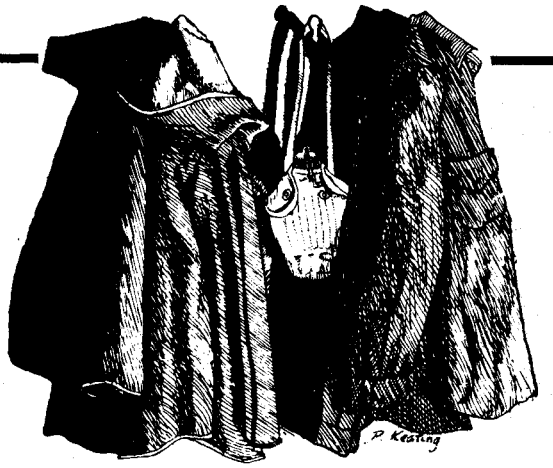

Did you miss "Death in the Convent," by Joan Sauro?

Sometimes she howls and cries in the empty stairwells, runs up and down the halls looking to rest somewhere. Then the sisters in the house lock the doors to their small bedrooms. They close the triple-glass windowpanes and try not to hear the cries, try not to hear the groan of the tractor running across the hill in the middle of the night. In the morning they complain about the caretaker. They say he runs the tractor into the woods at night.

But they know who it is. And she knows they know.

She knows too that I took the canteen out of the tractor, pried it loose from its wedge between the seat and the door. I took it home with the water still in it and hung it by its leathery straps on a clothes peg, just inside our front door. . . .

Every morning when I come back from Mass, I stop at the clothes peg and unscrew the green metal cap that falls on a chain down the front of the canteen. I take one, long, slow swallow. Then I screw the cap on tight and leave the canteen half buried under the coats and jackets. Only Sister Eva sees me do it. Only she knows I do not refill the canteen. *Commonweal*, March 25

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garded as those which cannot be undertaken without excessive physical, psychological, spiritual, or financial burden, and which, if undertaken, offer no real benefits for the patient.

In recent years the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith has utilized a distinction between "proportionate and disproportionate means" when discussing the moral significance of the church's traditional teaching in this matter. In light of this traditional distinction, a number of Catholic moralists have concluded that there may be situations when a decision to withhold or withdraw artificial hydration and nutrition procedures can be morally appropriate within the framework of traditional Catholic medical moral thought. Such a decision could be morally appropriate for a patient in a persistent vegetative state with no hope of recovery, as well as a patient who is in a terminal condition. The following excerpt from the Vatican's "Declaration on Euthanasia" (1980) supports this position: "Withdrawing treatment is not equivalent to suicide; on the contrary, it should be considered as an acceptance of the human condition, or a wish to avoid the application of a medical procedure disproportionate to the results that can be expected, or a desire not to impose excessive expenses on the family or community."

At the conclusion of the video the floor was opened for discussion and comment. The participants shared stories of their agonizing yet deeply enriching experiences with patients and their families when the sacred moment arrived to confront the difficult choices about life and death, hope and fear, communion and the reality of human mortality. The overwhelming reaction of the participants was to applaud the beauty and marvelousness of the Catholic medical moral tradition. Although profoundly loving human life and defending its sacredness, traditional Catholic medical moral thought still manages to reject a moral extremism which asserts that human life must be prolonged even at the cost of imposing unimaginable and futile sufferings on patients and their families.

Long before the meeting began I had publicly indicated my support for the right of Catholic patients, or their families, when appropriate, to request the withholding or termination of artificial hydration and nutrition procedures. After experiencing the response of pastoral care professionals to the video, my professional convictions moved to a more profound level. I had come into the company of a group of people who *knew* far more than I about the logic, reasonableness, and beauty of the Catholic medical moral tradition, a tradition which resists moral extremism.

Today, a public debate about the ethics of withholding or terminating artificial hydration and nutrition is under way among members of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States. From my vantage point I am afraid that this debate may create more confusion than enlightenment. It even threatens to distort the reasonableness of the Catholic medical moral tradition itself.

More than a year ago the New Jersey Catholic Conference,

(Continued on page 277)

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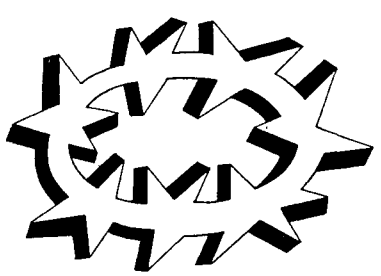

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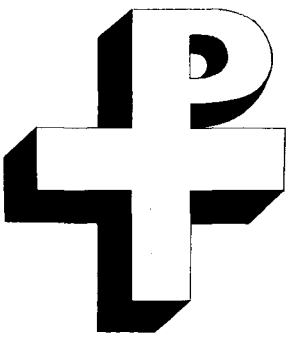

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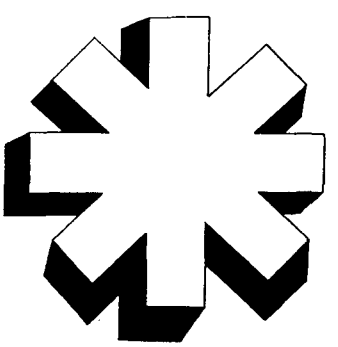

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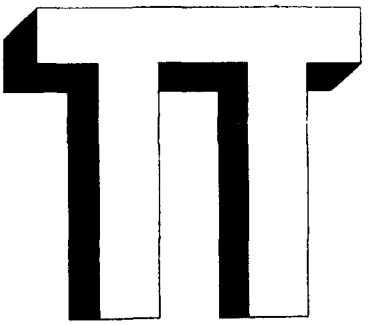

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(Continued from page 272)

under the leadership of Archbishop Theodore McCarrick of Newark, filed a friend of the court brief with the New Jersey Supreme Court in the case of Nancy Ellen Jobes. Eight years ago, Mrs. Jobes's unborn child was fatally injured in an automobile accident. During the course of an operation to remove the dead fetus, Mrs. Jobes suffered irreversible brain damage. For almost seven years she existed in a persistent vegetative state with no hope of recovery. After more than six years of thoughtful and prayerful deliberation, Mrs. Jobes's husband and her mother and father sought legal authorization to discontinue the use of the artificial hydration and nutrition tubes which were sustaining her life. They asserted that in conversations prior to this tragedy Mrs. Jobes had indicated that she would not want her life sustained artificially if there were no hope for her recovery.

In its amicus curiae brief, the New Jersey Catholic Conference argued that the discontinuation of Mrs. Jobes's artificial hydration and nutrition was tantamount to murder by starvation. The conference asked the court to deny Mrs. Jobes's family the legal right to discontinue the treatment, and argued that such an action would violate the basic tenets of Catholic medical moral thought. The brief read: "The denial of food and fluids, of hydration and nutrition, ultimately results in starvation, dehydration, and death. It is direct. It is unnatural, as unnatural as denying one the air needed to breathe, or murder by asphyxiation." And it went on to say: ". . . the conference maintains that nutrition and hydration, which is basic to human life, and as such distinguished from medical treatment, should always be provided to a patient. Withdrawal of nutrition and hydration introduces a new attack upon human life." I do not know if all the Catholic bishops in New Jersey actually supported Archbishop McCarrick in the position argued in the brief. I do know, however, that many Catholic health care professionals in New Jersey were not consulted prior to the brief's submission to the state Supreme Court.

In January of this year, Bishop Lewis E. Gelineau of Providence, Rhode Island, was confronted with a case similar to that of Nancy Ellen Jobes's. Since January 1986, Marsha Gray lay in a persistent vegetative state after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage. Eight subsequent operations had proven futile in improving her condition. Mrs. Gray's husband, H. Glenn Gray, filed suit in U.S. District Court to force officials at Providence General Hospital to stop feeding his wife. Bishop Gelineau publicly supported Mr. Gray's moral right to request discontinuing the artificial hydration and nutrition procedures sustaining his wife. Such an action, the bishop asserted, would not violate traditional Catholic medical moral principles.

In June of 1987 the Medical Ethics Commission of the Archdiocese of Chicago issued a statement on the ethics of withholding or terminating the use of artificial hydration and nutrition procedures. The statement, basing itself on traditional Catholic medical moral principles, asserted that withholding or discontinuing the use of artificial hydration and nutrition can be morally justified. The statement applied this judgment to terminally-ill patients, as well as to patients who are in persistent vegetative states. In advancing this position, the Chicago statement went one step further. It said: "Policies in Catholic health-care institutions in the Archdiocese of Chicago should not prohibit a patient or his/her legitimate surrogate from doing what is morally permissible." The Archdiocese of Chicago has come down on the side of the right of the patient to make those decisions which belong first and foremost to the patient. Apparently Catholics in Chicago believe that medical extremism, even in defense of life, can at times be more a vice than a virtue.

In the fall of 1987, Archbishop McCarrick sent a letter to the Catholic hospitals in the Archdiocese of Newark asking that the patient admission consent form at each hospital be amended effectively to prohibit the right of a patient, or a patient's family, to request or insist on the withholding or the termination of artificial hydration and nutrition procedures.

Catholics who are aware of the Chicago statement (which presumably was issued with the knowledge of Cardinal Joseph

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Bernadin, Archbishop of Chicago, and chair of the Committee on Pro-Life Activities of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops), of Bishop Gelineau's support of the Gray family in Providence, and of the action taken in the Archdiocese of Newark by Archbishop McCarrick can rightfully wonder aloud how an action which is defended in one Catholic jurisdiction as a right under the rubric of traditional Catholic medical moral thought can be prohibited under the same rubric in another.

There is little reason to believe that this public debate among members of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States will be resolved in the near future. Many of the episcopal participants are also involved in a public squabble about the appropriateness of some aspects of the recent statement, "The Many Faces of AIDS," issued by the administrative board of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. A cynical observer might suggest that these current debates are less about substantive issues than about ideological posturing.

Undoubtedly, Archbishop McCarrick and others who oppose withholding or terminating artificial hydration and nutrition procedures are concerned about the danger of a "slippery slope" leading to the general and widespread acceptance of euthanasia. Catholics and others who are committed to defending the sacredness of human life must certainly be concerned about such a "slippery slope." Critical people of all faiths realize the need to be watchful lest the dignity of human life become compromised, either intentionally or unintentionally, by the marvels of modern medical technology and the new ethical issues it creates. However, a legitimate concern about the potential danger of the "slippery slope" should not push members of the Catholic hierarchy or others into a kind of moral extremism which rejects the reasonableness of the Catholic medical moral tradition in issues pertaining to the moral obligation to prolong human life.

Catholic teaching has historically made a marvelous contribution to medical ethics through its defense of the right of patients to make those medical decisions appropriate to their conditions. To surrender or compromise the fundamental moral principle of patient self-determination which has long been a cornerstone of Catholic teaching would result in advocating a form of moral elitism which suggests that average people like Nancy Ellen Jobes and Marsha Gray—or their legitimate surrogates—lack the wisdom, the intelligence, or the virtue to make prudent medical moral decisions. When people have to confront the profoundly difficult choices about life and death they should be able to look to the church for enlightenment not confusion, moderation not extremism, and caring not condemnation.

Near the end of the meeting, a Father Joseph indicated that sometimes discussions about medical moral issues are more confusing than enlightening. Then he enlightened everyone with a marvelous tale.

A few years ago Father Joseph's mother took seriously ill and he returned to his native Africa to be with her. Shortly after his return home, the doctors caring for her told him and his sisters that their mother was dying and that there was little they could do for her. His sisters took their mother home and cared for her as she grew progressively weaker. Father Joseph was present through this time.

After a few weeks, Father Joseph's mother reached the point where she would no longer eat. He and his sisters debated about returning her to the hospital where she could be given water and nutrition artificially. During the discussion Father Joseph's uncle, the patriarch of the family, arrived at the home. When he learned that Joseph and his sisters were thinking about returning their mother to the hospital, the uncle explained that this would not be the right thing to do. Their mother, he said "was already on the journey toward death and to eternal life." She was no longer in need of the food provided by this world. God was already sustaining her in her journey to eternity with an immortal food. To force her to eat the world's food at this point would only impede her in the journey God had designed for her. The uncle finished his lesson with these words: "When God calls those we love we must let them go to him. We should not force them to eat so they will stay with us beyond their time."

Amidst the confusion of the miracle of modern medicine and our American impulse to prolong life at any and all costs, Father Joseph brought the wisdom of the African culture to our meeting. Catholics who are engaged in the public debate about the ethics of withholding or terminating the use of artificial

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hydration and nutrition procedures need to learn the simple, yet profound truth that Father Joseph's story teaches us all. Christ has died. Christ has risen. We need not fear death anymore. □

SCREEN

UNMASKING SECRETS

'SORCERESS' & 'A TAXING WOMAN'

Sorceress is film's best trip to the Middle Ages since that 1983 gem, *The Return of Martin Guerre*. Like *Guerre*, it evolved from the work of an American academic, Boston College art professor, Pamela Berger. Perhaps inspired by *Guerre*, and its author Natalie Zemon Davie, Berger mulled over her work; wrote to a Truffaut associate, Suzanne Schiffman; involved her as director; co-wrote a screenplay; and finally—*mirabile dictu*—persuaded the National Endowment for the Humanities to become one of the film's producers. With this backing, it should get outlets on PBS after its movie theater demise.

Berger's plot is based on the thirteenth-century account of a Dominican friar, one Etienne de Bourbon (played by Tchecky Karo), who was under orders from his superiors to root out heresy. Visiting a rural town, he discovers the beautiful Elda on whom peasants rely for herbal cures. The Dominican gets his big break as a detective when he observes Elda allowing the peasants a superstitious cult, or rather, not discouraging them.

De Bourbon feels both sexual attraction for Elda and ideological suspicion of her methods, which to him smack of witchcraft. The film implies (not too heavy-handedly) that the latter is his unconscious defense against the former, and that the hierarchy of the church often used dogma to repress not just science but the threat of female power.

Berger's ideology is relevant, but not intrusive. A co-author of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, her film reflects that book's emphasis on women challenging male authorities (whether doctors or priests), a theme whose impact ranges beyond abortion to less controversial matters such as sports and "natural" childbirth. Elda is accorded quietly heroic treatment for her work, especially in numerous shots of nursing, a symbol of feminine power as old as Roman images of "caritas" and as new as *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Berger's feminism is also clear in her portrayal of De Bourbon, who is treated satirically, but not crudely. An oaf, he avoids being an ogre. Other men resist his violence toward Elda. Moreover, the film is not anachronistic; Elda is shown to be as religious (in a Franciscan way) as anyone. She is no modern feminist ahead of her time, but a Christian believer who sees God as the ultimate healer and whose secrets she is trying to understand. As a result, the film avoids condescension; in its "looking backward," the past is allowed to live and breathe as the past. To be sure, Berger and Schiffman have given us a modern interpretation of the Middle Ages, but it is not a modernist distortion.

Sorceress shares in the spirit and grace of *Martin Guerre*, but not in the subtlety of its moral puzzle. Here, the only suspense is the possibility of the stake; but clues aplenty are planted early to deflate that. Pacing is also off; scenes together don't quite build to sharp conclusions. The acting, while adequate, also makes one recall *Guerre*. Tchecky Karo as the friar has Depardieu's height and gait, but not his awkward power; scenes of him and Elda (Cristine Boisson) don't match the fire of Depardieu and "wife" (Natalie Baye).

Nevertheless, *Sorceress* is leagues above two other medieval films: the 1985 atrocity, *The Name of the Rose*, and the recent *Beatrice*, a Gothic melodrama in more ways than one. *Sorceress* has a harsh, period look; but true to its theme of healing, the color green dominates so that at times the screen itself looks mossy. In spite of its flaws, it's a perfect example of what college professors ought to be doing. As many recent reports on college teaching have noted, scholarship can be defined by breadth as well as depth; communicating to a wide audience is as important as advancing the narrow knowledge of an elite in some dry-as-dust journal that even they only pretend to read. This is heresy to some. Thank goodness Berger defies their orthodoxy.

A Taxing Woman comes from director Juzo Itami, the maker of *Tampopo*, "the first Samurai noodle western." Like its predecessor, *A Taxing Woman* is a curious, even mischievous blend of comedy, thriller, brainy cops-and-robbers, mock heroics, romance, and devil-may-care light eroticism. Itami's style is quick, playful, and seamless and he moves glibly between tones with no sense of incongruity. One scene tells all: when his heroine, a female tax investigator, goes to case out a slot machine arcade suspected of hiding profits, she is not above shouts of wild glee when she accidentally hits a jackpot. Only afterward (decorous again) does she go and inform the arcade owner that he is being audited.

The heroine is played by Nobuto Miyamato, the noodle

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cook in *Tampopo*. She's a good comedian, aware of the counterpoint between her sincere, earnest face and the trouble or embarrassment that her energy always get her into. A running gag in the film involves her cowlick, which keeps popping up no matter how many times her pertinacity gets her promoted. Her femininity makes her comically vulnerable when she puts the bite on some heavies; on the other hand, it also helps her think of places where women tax evaders hide secret safe deposit box keys. Itami also uses her sexuality for love interest; when a tax cheat (Tsutomu Yamazaki) falls in love with her, he employs the oddest twist on attraction between cop and thief in some time.

Other strengths make *A Taxing Woman* a delight. The score includes a fine throbbing eight-note sax motif that enhances chase scenes where investigators are always trying to grab evidence before the cheats destroy it. The editing is slick, especially in scenes that cut between actual tailing of evaders and watching a tape of the tail back in the office. Action is quick and economical; the pace only drags when Itami includes a sentimental bond between Miyamato and Yamazaki over their respective children. Although no one is ever much hurt, Itami also stages some tough confrontations between tax collectors and their targets and distributes them evenly over the film with a fine sense of rhythm. His colors are also carefully selected, mostly stark reds and blues in the indoor, artificial glitz of Tokyo.

The film was originally scheduled to be released in New York on April 15—surely someone's little joke. But its real marvel is getting us to sympathize with tax investigators who, in Japan, seem equally detested as here. Although Itami is not pressing any moral or message, one can't help but feel sad watching this. If only all tax agents really did their job, and went after the crime families and real estate crooks depicted here! Then we would all be paying our taxes and getting back our money's worth: fairness.

TOM O'BRIEN

BOOKS

At the mouth of the money supply

SECRETS OF THE TEMPLE
How the Federal Reserve Runs the Country
William Greider
Simon and Schuster, $24.95, 798 pp.

VOLCKER
Portrait of the Money Man
William R. Neikirk
Congdon and Weed, $18.95, 240 pp.

ORIGINS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM
James Livingston
Cornell, $22.50, 272 pp.

John B. Judis

Since August 1979, when Paul Volcker became chairman of the Federal Reserve, the Fed has been the pre-eminent institution in American economic life. It stanched the double-digit inflation of the seventies, but at the cost of two recessions, one of which was the worst since the Great Depression. The other effect was a precipitous decline in America's trade balance. Yet few Americans have blamed the Fed for the miseries of the past decade.

The Fed has always been insulated from popular criticism both by its structure—it is a semi-private institution composed of a presidentially-appointed board and bank-appointed regional presidents—and by the mysterious jargon in which its decisions are couched. For instance, Volcker's most important decision, taken in October 1979, was to regulate the flow of credit by keeping "M-1" constant rather than by adjusting the "Federal Funds" rate. About as many Americans know that M-1 is the measure of cash and checking account deposits in circulation as know the difference between a bit and a byte.

In *Secrets of the Temple*, William Greider, political columnist for *Rolling Stone* and former *Washington Post* editor, lifts the veil off the mystery of the Fed. Greider puts the debate over money back into the explosive terms of the nineteenth-century populist. He shows how the Fed's seemingly neutral, technical decisions were *political* choices that favored the wealthy and powerful over the wage-worker and small businessman. Like the populist, Greider favors inflation over deflation and a publicly rather than privately controlled currency system.

Greider contends that the Fed's decade-long assault against inflation reflected the "special interests" of banks and bondholders. Inflation, Greider argues, tends to redistribute income downwards. During the seventies, many middle-income Americans benefited from inflation. Even if their real wages declined, their home values skyrocketed, and credit was readily available. On the other hand, banks and bondholders saw the value of their long-term assets reduced by inflation, as the rate of inflation climbed above the rate of interest at which their assets appreciated. These special interests, Greider says, pressured Volcker into putting the brakes on the money supply and causing a recession. By raising interest rates and cutting infla-

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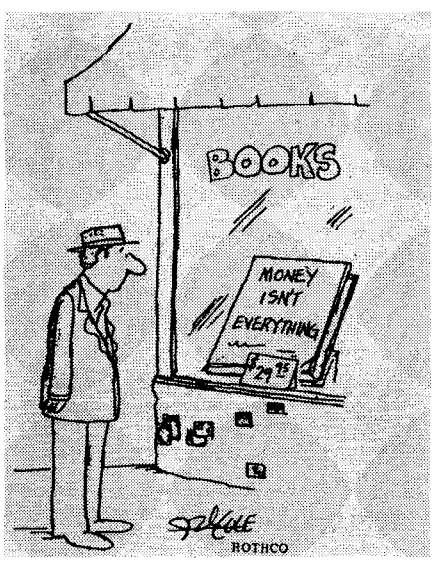
tion, the recession increased the earnings of the creditor classes.

Greider explains what I had never clearly understood: how and why Volcker used Milton Friedman's disreputable monetarist theory to create a recession. Friedman had argued that the Federal Reserve could prevent steep recessions if it changed the way it regulated credit—keeping the money supply constant rather than adjusting interest rates. Economists had derided Friedman's arguments—Friedman, for instance, blamed the Great Depression on monetary policy—but Volcker announced in 1979 that he was adopting Friedman's methods. Greider shows, however, that Volcker and the other governors were not moved by Friedman's arguments, but rather by political convenience. By using monetarist jargon, they could couch deeply unpleasant political decisions in purely technical terms. When interest rates skyrocketed, they could claim that it was because of market forces rather than because of any decision on the Fed's part.

Secrets of the Temple is an effective antidote for the nostalgia that many Democrats are beginning to feel for the Carter years. Against the advice of a prescient Bert Lance, Carter nominated Volcker and then passively stood by while he caused a recession. Of course, the Reagan administration was initially worse. Reagan officials, led by Beryl Sprinkel, currently the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, pressured Volcker into precipitating the 1981 recession. Meanwhile, a Democratic Congress, intimidated by Volcker, acquiesced.



Curiously, Volcker's only consistent critics were the late Reagan appointees to the Federal Reserve Board, Preston Martin, Martha Seger, Manuel Johnson, and Wayne Angell. They became the Board's advocates for the small farmer and the unemployed, while Carter-appointee Lyle Gramley and Democratic Senate Banking Chairman William Proxmire and House Banking Chairman Henry Reuss backed Volcker.

Volcker was also supported by the financial press. *Chicago Tribune* reporter William Neikirk's biography, *Volcker: Portrait of the Money Man*, typifies the press reaction to Volcker. Neikirk's book reads like a presidential campaign biography. Neikirk belittles the opposition of Martin and Seger. Seger was never effective, Neikirk writes, "because of her limited background in monetary policy. She complained about Volcker's dominating influence and about his smelly cigars."

Greider's book falls short not in its journalism, but in its theory of contemporary capitalism. Greider understates the degree to which Volcker and the bankers were part of a self-conscious policy elite acting within a system over which they had only limited control. Greider is too influenced by the nineteenth-century populists and their modern exponents, who see politics simply as the push and pull of special interests, whether benign or malevolent, and history simply as the resolution of these vectors.

Greider portrays Volcker as succumbing to the special interests of bondholders in the manner in which a corrupt nineteenth-century congressman succumbed to the pressures of the Union Pacific. But Volcker and the bondholders were part of a broader leadership that, during the last decade, turned away from the limited Keynesian intervention and labor-corporate cooperation (favored by the Committee for Economic Development and other policy groups) toward deregulation, tight money, and even union-busting in order to reduce costs and raise profit rates. These leaders were not

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simply motivated by individual self-interest, but by a conviction that American capitalism was in crisis and required a sharp change in course.

Greider could have benefited from reading historian James Livingston's book, *The Origins of the Federal Reserve System*. Livingston rejects Greider's view—derived from Gabriel Kolko's *The Triumph of Conservatism*—that Wall Street bankers devised the Federal Reserve as a means of protecting their separate interests. Instead, Livingston portrays a class-conscious corporate and financial leadership that came to a realization, beginning in the late 1890s, that the competitive capitalist system, including its chaotic banking system, had to be transformed. Like contemporary financial leaders, they saw American capitalism at a watershed. If there is a difference, it is that the progressive era leaders were more farsighted, while those of our day are touched by a kind of decadent nostalgia for things past.

But Volcker and the bondholders' actions must be viewed from another dimension as well. Both were acting within a system that controlled them as much as or more than they controlled it. What Volcker responded to at the Fed was bondholders' reluctance to invest, which resulted in falling bond prices and rising long-term interest rates. The bondholders' actions were, of course, dictated by their views of the economy, but *these* views consisted of a quite ordinary and empirically justifiable skepticism about American capitalism's long-term prospects. In this respect they were merely the agents of broader, impersonal—indeed, global—market forces over which they had no control. To say they were acting as an "interest group" is like saying that when commodity speculators alter the price of grain they are acting as an interest group.

But in *Secrets of the Temple*, Greider does not appear to recognize market forces—that is, the constraints that the capitalist system places upon individual decision. He is both a populist and an arch-Keynesian for whom recessions themselves are political events. "The awkward little secret of the American system was that modern recessions did not flow ineluctably from mysterious natural forces in the business cycle," he writes. "Recessions were induced by the federal government."

Greider is correct in this sense: the timing and perhaps reach of recessions are determined by political decisions, whether by the executive branch or the Federal Reserve. But it remains unproven that without direct control over corporate investment decisions, governments can avoid recessions altogether. Take, for instance, the late seventies. Greider himself acknowledges that the inflationary excesses of those years threatened long-term investment. Investors were increasingly putting their money in real estate and precious metals rather than in new factories. Had the inflation continued unabated, the U.S. might have risked a recession even without higher short-term interest rates.

Greider can argue that the Fed could have used controls on food and energy prices rather than a recession to curb inflation, but the inflationary pressures of the late seventies also reflected a decade-old set of expectations that could not easily have been curbed. Greider is certainly right, however, that in choosing its targets, the Fed forced small farmers and factory workers rather than Wall Street bankers and bondholders to bear the brunt of the recession. And Volcker prolonged the recession and high interest rates well past the point at which they were needed to stem inflation.

Greider quotes an exchange between Volcker and a group of farm state legislators who had traveled to Washington in 1986 to argue for lower interest rates. "Look," Volcker said to them. "Your constituents are unhappy. Mine aren't." Such a remark reveals the important truth contained in Greider's analysis of Volcker and the Federal Reserve. We still await a comprehensive theory of contemporary capitalism. But in the meantime Greider has provided a brilliant and telling analysis of Reagan-era economic policy. □

FLORESCENT ODYSSEY

FACING WEST FROM CALIFORNIA'S SHORES
A Jesuit's Journey into
New Age Consciousness
David Toolan
Crossroad, $19.95, 337 pp.

William F. Vendley

David Toolan's *Facing West from California's Shores* is a bold book. It can be read at several levels. As autobiography, it is the religious odyssey of an American Jesuit as he moves from his Western religious and cultural origins through the consciousness movement of the sixties and a pilgrimage to India, and finally back as a contemporary Christian changed by his journey East and attentive to the continuing developments of the consciousness movement.

But Toolan's story, while personal, is not merely idiosyncratic. He passes his experience through the fire of thought and tradition. Thus his story, at another level, can be read as a form of searching theology — a sustained conversation between Christian faith and a host of contemporary voices that clamor at the rapidly moving edge of an emerging postmodern culture.

The book chronicles the genesis of the so-called consciousness movement, its many feverish mutations, and the restless searching that inspired it. Viewed culturally, the consciousness movement's florescence on the margins of mainstream religious institutions signaled the inadequacies of the latter. Toolan draws on anthropologist Victor Turner's notion of "liminality" to explain the movement's search for new patterns of experience. He sees this search as a collective "rite of passage," a modern form of pilgrimage that presages a collective

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cultural shift toward a new cosmology. That new cosmology promises to overcome the cultural schizophrenia imaged in C. P. Snow's "two cultures," and could form the basis of a new polis, a new political order founded upon a genuinely global outlook.

The consciousness movement's search for this outlook sought to go beyond our schizoid culture, on the one hand beyond detached rationalists, and on the other beyond those seeking to find order in a self divorced from the wider environment. It probed, Toolan argues, in two directions. The first was a "hermeneutics of restoration," a retrieval — albeit often a non-academic one — of ancient spiritual wisdom characteristic of pre-modern, traditional societies. And the second probe, more revisionist in character, aimed to explore the new scientific paradigms emerging on the fringes of modern physics. Toolan takes on both directions.

The author's trip to India is more than a personal pilgrimage. It serves as a form of anamnesis, the recollection of a primordial sense of time. It seeks to recover the "uncarved block" out of which the modern Western self and its world have been sculpted. Thus we have a passage back through the elaborate differentiations of self nurtured by literacy, and back to the sacred numinosity of an oral world that predates the rootless desiccation of the autonomous Western self.

The trip East proved to be a path toward home. Having discovered the primordial ranges of consciousness more readily at play in the East, Toolan regained the startling power of the Western spiritual classics. The book proves Toolan an alert Western traveler. He knows that a literalistic return to a spirituality of pre-literate culture offers no cure for the West. Moderns may thirst for an organic connection with creation and a sense of the sacred, but they are not simply ready to exchange these for the hard-won achievements of selfhood and conscious freedom. In Toolan's reading, the crucial issue that the consciousness movement posed to both the East and the West is the development of a free mode of participation in time that both preserves the emergence of selfhood and reconnects it with the depths of reality.

Toolan artfully describes the refiguration of nature taking place at the edges of current science. In contemporary physics, the long-established hegemony of a closed, steady-state, time reversible paradigm has begun to yield to a radically new view of reality, one understood to be open, unstable, and irreversible. If in the former paradigm matter is dead and history has no purchase, in the latter a stochastic universe braids itself in energy-dissipating, organ-like structures in irreversible time. Contemporary physics has begun to reveal a universe in which we, no longer alien freaks of cosmic process, are the ineluctable expressions of the difference time can make. While avoiding a naive collapse of high-energy physics into mysticism, Toolan marks out a view of nature which, grasped as metaphor for quickening Eros, enables us to experience ourselves as poised at the unstable threshold of a vast cosmic process — in which we make a difference.

Of particular value is Toolan's ability to entertain helpful but inadequate criticisms of the consciousness movement. His discussion of Christopher Lasch's critique is instructive in this regard. Toolan acknowledges that the consciousness movement has provided refuge for the "minimal selves" which, Lasch argues, offer only an inverted image of the modern, Promethean self. But in Toolan's reading, Lasch fundamentally misunderstands the movement's jeremiads against false subjectivity when he interpretes them as expressions of a passive and narcissistic mentality. By introducing the cultural relevance of the mystical element of the Judeo-Christian tradition, Toolan re-centers the discussion and makes a distinction between a prepersonal loss of selfhood and the possibility of genuinely transpersonal experience.

Toolan's conversation between Catholicism and the voices in the consciousness movement is impressive. If the consciousness movement opened for Toolan a path to spirituality and opportunities for appropriating a postmodern Catholicism, Toolan, in turn, offers the movement a unique interpretation of its

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possible significance to the Western tradition. For Toolan's odyssey charts his recovery of the central plot line of the Western story. Once recovered, that story enables him to discern in the consciousness movement the struggle for an inclusive vision of reality which has been increasingly absent in the secular West since the modern mind began its encapsulation in the heroics of self-realization. In doing so, Toolan forges a bridge between the American consciousness movement, largely cut off from any explicit relationship to Western religion, and the deeper voices in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Reading Toolan, one is impressed again with theology's need for good conversational partners. Theological conversation opens a search. Toolan's search, read culturally, calls us to a collective expansion of our imaginations and to the possibilities for religious transformation which they beckon. □

THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE

GALILEO: HERETIC
Pietro Redondi
Translated by Raymond Rosenthal
Princeton, $29.95, 356 pp.

GALILEO GALILEI
Toward a Resolution of 350 Years of Debate, 1633-1983
Edited by Paul Cardinal Poupard
Translated by Ian Campbell
Duquesne University, $28.00 208 pp.

Robert L. Spaeth

In 1616 the Catholic church condemned Copernican astronomy. The theological consulters of the Holy Office unanimously decided that heliocentrism was "stupid and absurd, and false in philosophy, and formally heretical, for it explicitly, and in many paragraphs, contradicts the sentences of holy Scripture." The Florentine scientist Galileo Galilei was immediately advised in no uncertain terms not to hold or defend Copernicanism, a warning he heeded. His book, *Dialogue on the Great World Systems,* although a bold discussion of the sensitive subject of planetary theories, was published in 1632 with ecclesiastical license. But despite Galileo's caution, Pope Urban VIII ordered that he be tried on "vehement suspicion of heresy," and in 1633 Galileo was convicted and sentenced to life in prison (later commuted to house arrest), his works were suppressed, and he was forbidden ever to publish again.

Those have long been accepted as the bare facts of the infamous Galileo affair. Its ramifications and implications for the relations between science and the church have been debated for three and one-half centuries with little diminution in interest. Now an Italian historian, Pietro Redondi, has come forward with a startling and radical revisionist thesis, *viz.*, that what brought Galileo down was not his great astronomical work but his previously published ideas on the physical composition of matter.

Redondi's case depends crucially on a document he discovered in the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, an unsigned denunciation of Galileo, seven paragraphs long, evidently submitted to the Roman Inquisition in the 1620s, before Galileo published the *Dialogue*.

The document bases its case against Galileo on his essay of 1623, *The Assayer,* which, among other things, offered a corpuscular theory of matter. If matter is only atoms in motion, the document argues, and if an object's taste, odor, and color are only subjective qualities, then "that makes greatly difficult the existence of the accidents of the bread and wine which in the Most Holy Sacrament are separated from their substance." In short, it was alleged that Galileo's atomic theory is inconsistent with the dogma of transubstantiation solemnly defined by the Council of Trent.

Probably Galileo's accuser was Orazio Grassi, S.J., whose earlier pseudonymous essay, *The Balance,* Galileo had attacked and ridiculed in *The Assayer*. Redondi points out that Grassi's handwriting and the document's are similar. Moreover, in 1626, Grassi published a reply to *The Assayer*, making a similar allegation: "One must therefore infer, from what Galileo says, that heat and taste do not subsist in the host. The soul experiences horror at the very thought."

When Galileo's *Dialogue* came out, Urban VIII appointed a special investigating commission which met five times, keeping all proceedings secret. Redondi believes it unlikely that such a procedure would have been used if only Galileo's "Copernican propensity" were at stake. Of the three theologians composing the commission, two were experts on the Eucharist and the third was a "ferociously anti-Copernican" Jesuit. And the pope himself angrily told the Florentine ambassador that "Galileo had dared enter where he should not, into the most grave and dangerous subjects that one could possibly raise at this moment." Galileo's alleged disobedience to the 1616 warning against heliocentrism would not have merited such intensity.

> *I have tried to show that the problem of Galileo's heresy was an interweaving of two disquietudes: the reticent disquietude of the turns and twists in Galileo's physics and the disquietude of the period's controversial and polemical theological speculation.*
>
> — Pietro Redondi
> *Galileo: Heretic*

If all this is true, what was truly at issue in the Galileo affair might have been "the nominalist and atomist heresy against the dogma of the Eucharist." Redondi has, as he admits, "reconstructed a

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history'' and thereby raised the awful suspicion that in the eyes of the church Galileo's heresy concerned a central dogma of the faith. ''One could perhaps be Catholic and Copernican, but one could not be Catholic without respecting the Tridentine postulate of the Eucharist.''

But is it true? Redondi doesn't claim to have proved his thesis, but the facts he collects make it plausible and his brilliant rhetoric makes it persuasive. He succeeds in his goal, ''to restore the plot and its motives — from among the motives and passions of that time, to reconstruct another universe of politics, society, art, and religion, not simply of science.'' One closes this complex and fascinating book still skeptical but newly aware how convincing a *tour de force* of historical scholarship can be.

When Pope John Paul II appointed his own Galileo study commission in 1982, having asked for ''a loyal recognition of errors, from whatever side they come,'' he probably did not anticipate such research as Pietro Redondi's. It is indeed difficult to imagine what he does expect. One product of the study to date is a collection of informative background essays whose English subtitle — ''Toward a Resolution of 350 Years of Debate'' — greatly exaggerates their importance. Cardinal Paul Poupard, director of the commission, writes that the essays ''are a work of clarification,'' though in fact they seem to add little or nothing to Galileo studies already in print.

The eight essays — the work of mostly European, mostly clerical scholars — review Galileo's predecessors, the philosophy and theology of his era, and the reception of Galileo during the Enlightenment and in our time. By and large the authors shy away from discussing the issues of the trial itself; a few, perhaps not surprisingly, remain defensive on the church's behalf.

Can John Paul really mean to rehabilitate Galileo, as if the great scientist's reputation somehow belongs to the church? George J. Béné, a French physicist, throws cold water on this idea. Among contemporary scientists, he writes, ''there is no interest in going back to the trial''; a new investigation would be seen ''as one more spectacle staged by the Catholic church.'' But none of the other writers seems to see any danger in a new investigation of the Galileo affair.

After reading *Galileo: Heretic* one wonders whether the Galileo commission, if its work were to be conducted freely and thoroughly, would not investigate the church as much as one of the church's most famous victims. □

THE PROPHET OF ORDER

JOHN CALVIN
A Sixteenth Century Portrait
William J. Bouwsma
Oxford, $22.95, 310 pp.

Richard Marius

Among the Protestant Reformers, John Calvin has been the most influential in the world and the least interesting to historians. Calvin's ideas have been condemned or praised for everything from puritan intolerance to Anglo-American democracy, from apartheid to revolution. The geographical sweep of Calvin's influence is as vast as the course of Anglo-Saxon and Dutch imperialism; compared to it, Lutheranism is a sect walled in by the minority of the German lands that became Lutheran. Yet books about Martin Luther gush from the presses while books about Calvin—especially biographical studies—are rare. Most of these have been doggedly confessional if not apologetic.

William J. Bouwsma's brilliant survey of Calvin's thought is therefore a double grace: It restores Calvin to general attention, and it is free of the special bias of confessional historians who know what they will find before they start looking for it. Bouwsma has breathed on the dry bones of Calvin's immense work and resurrected a troubled and contradictory human being whose theology endured because it was forged on the anvil of his own fears and yearnings.

Bouwsma's focus is on the inner man rather than outward events. He condenses a summary of biographical details into his first chapter. (This is my only complaint about the book; I wish we had a little more about Calvin in Geneva, but that was not the book Bouwsma wanted to write.) Although Calvin's ideas were complex and unsystematic, they were relatively static. ''I have called this book a portrait rather than a biography,'' Bouwsma says, ''because I think that in what mattered most to him, Calvin developed little between his break with the church that had nurtured him and his death some thirty years later.''

Unfettered by any need to trace chronological development in Calvin's

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thought, Bouwsma ranges over the whole of Calvin's writing to provide illuminating essays on Calvin's major ideas — order, rational religion, humanism, human nature or "being," society, polity, church, and so on.

The Calvin who emerges in these pages is far different from the calm and flinty stereotype, an image engraved on our minds in part by the aloof serenity of Calvin's portraits, two of which appear in this book. Bouwsma's Calvin is haunted by terrors not only of sin, guilt, death, and salvation, but also of nature itself. Since water is lighter than earth, Calvin supposed, it ought to cover the world, and, so Bouwsma says, in Calvin's view "the survival of the human race from moment to moment thus depends on God's keeping the seas under an *unnatural* control." In storms "when God thunders from heaven, there is a sudden change that not only disturbs the air but also terrifies our souls." To Calvin, nature does not function by its own rules but serves as a sort of glove for God. He does not recognize secondary causes, for God's inscrutable power permits nothing to happen by chance. In a darkling world, predestination is a stern consolation, for even in its "impenetrable mystery," it affirms that God has reasons we know not of.

At the heart of Calvin's anxiety and the anxiety of the terrible sixteenth century was the problem of knowledge. What can we know? The only religious certainty lies in what God reveals, Calvin thought; yet even the most faithful "frequently stagger in unbelief." Though he could call philosophy a "noble gift of God," he more often assaulted philosophers for their vain and arrogant curiosity. Final assurance lay in heartfelt faith in the divine message, though Bouwsma points out that Calvin was not averse to looking for external evidence.

This he sometimes found in a chilling moralism. He could write, "Adversity is a sign of God's absence, prosperity is his presence," and with a prattling ease reminiscent of a modern TV evangelist, he could hold that kingdoms that established true religion would prosper. Disease and bad weather were punishment for sin. Calvin had little sympathy for Job but on the contrary found good words to say about Job's comforters! It is a relief to know that he considered wine a gift of God "not only for necessity but also to make us merry." But Calvin's relentless moralism obviously wearies Bouwsma, who says it resulted in "a loss of the openness to the complexity and mystery of human existence that he could display elsewhere."

Like most thinkers amid the rebellions and wars of a bloody epoch, Calvin yearned for immutable order. He admired "the consistency of the heavens, eternal and exempt from all change." "He denounced with particular harshness sins associated with unrestraint," Bouwsma says. He hated the subordination of religion to politics which he thought turned the proper order of things upside down, and he loathed the ignorance of the ruling classes which led them to confusion. Although he did not think wealth was wrong, he assaulted the pride of the wealthy which led to idleness and vice. He recognized the fragility of political order in riot-prone European cities which, he said, "collect the wood and kindle the fire, and the fire then sweeps over the whole land." Like Thomas More in England, he favored republicanism over monarchy, and he was outraged by tyranny, but for the sake of order he thought Christians should accept the governments they had.

Bouwsma keeps his focus on Calvin. Yet his splendid book calls to mind the broader vision of the terrors of the period that we find in recent encyclopedic studies by the French scholars Jean Delumeau and Jean Wirth, works that in turn call up the grim portrayal of Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*.

Burckhardt found Christian belief undermined by the superstitions, violence, and fears of the time and by the Renaissance passion for pagan antiquity—a view vigorously rebutted or simply ignored by today's confessional historians. No one should read an icy modern skepticism based on a scientific world view back into the sixteenth century. Still it may be that we begin to see the century aright only when we think of both Catholic and Protestant theology not merely as efforts to establish the right kind of Christianity but as valiant attempts to vindicate Christianity itself against a meaninglessness compounded of a chaos of popular superstition on the one hand

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REVIEWERS

JOHN J. JUDIS's *biography of William F. Buckley, Jr., will be published in May by Simon and Schuster.*

WILLIAM F. VENDLEY *is associate dean as well as an associate professor of systematic theology at the Diocesan Seminary of the Immaculate Conception in Huntington, N.Y.*

ROBERT L. SPAETH, *author of* No Easy Answers: Christians Debate Nuclear Arms *and* The Church and a Catholic Conscience, *(both Harper & Row) is dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.*

RICHARD MARIUS, *director of expository writing and senior lecturer on English at Harvard University, is the author of biographies of Martin Luther and Thomas More.*

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and a troubled awareness of classical skepticism on the other. Bouwsma's anxious Calvin looks like a man toiling to throw up sandbags of certitude against a raging flood roaring out of a bottomless sea. □

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 258)

faithful to the possibilities of the parables. FRANK P. LANE

Tangling with right

Stow, Mass.

To the Editors: As often happens, what is prudent tangles with what is right in Richard Mazziotta's reflections on intercommunion ["How I Declined the Invitation," January 29].

No doubt Luke and even Mark would joyfully have joined the throngs invited to Fr. Mazziotta's Eucharist in the stadium. But outside the gates, picketing the event, would have gathered the faithful Matthean community, that found in the parable of the Marriage Feast (Matt. 22:1-14) an invitation to the feast of the king that was reserved for those who were worthy. Does this parable, too, "stav[e] off the ordinary rules of understanding which have been imposed by self or others"?

I myself would have attended the celebration, but as I walked past the protesters, I might have wondered whether, in doing what seemed to be the prudent thing by attending, I had failed to do the right thing. JUDY HALEY

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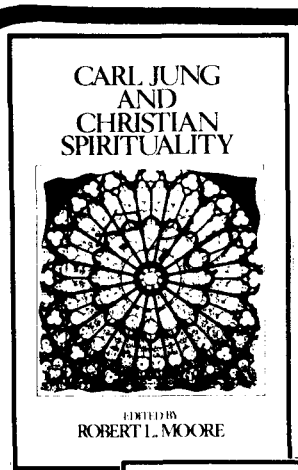

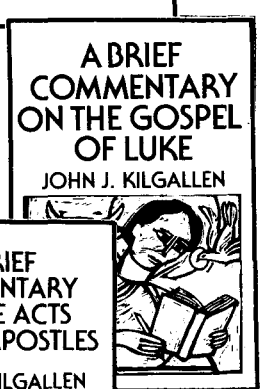

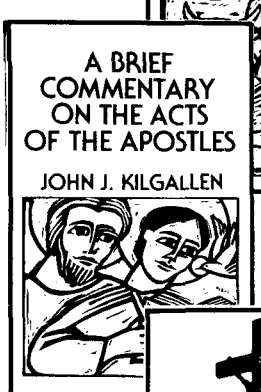

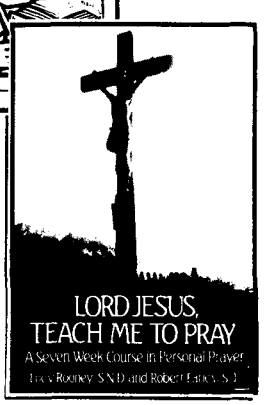

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